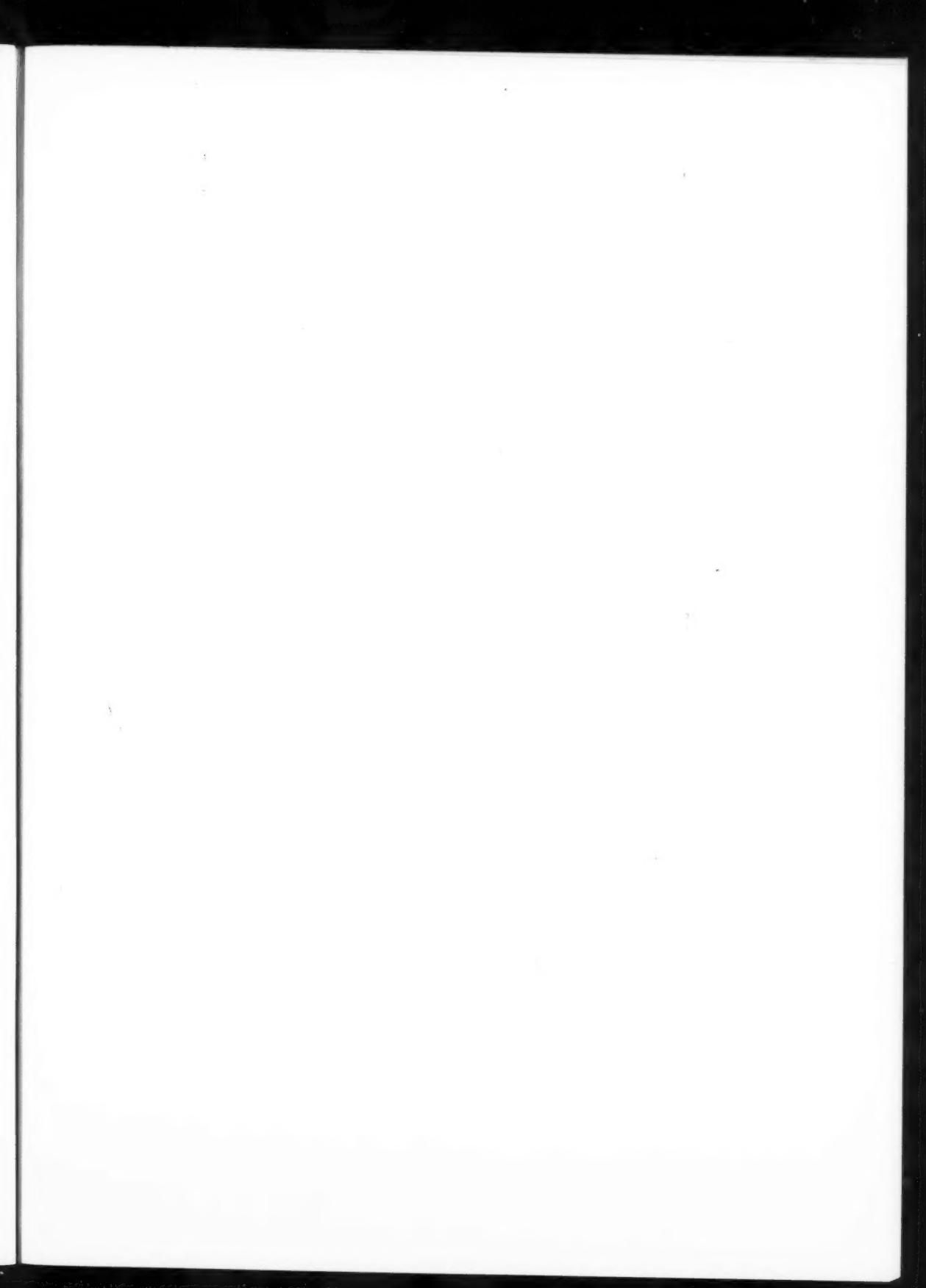


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Right Wall of the Tomb of the Cocks at Beit Jibrīn.

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VOLS. II AND III

FOR 1921-1922

EDITED FOR THE MANAGING COMMITTEE BY  
WARREN J. MOULTON

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## THE BAGDAD SCHOOL

In 1913, Professor George A. Barton, then of Bryn Mawr College, proposed to the Council of the Archaeological Institute of America that it encourage the establishment of a school of Mesopotamian archaeology at Bagdad. The suggestion was favorably received, and a Committee, with Professor Barton as chairman, was appointed to undertake the task of founding and organizing such a school, provided it was found feasible to do so. Within a few months after the selection of this Committee, the great war broke out and it was impossible to go forward with such an enterprise while the conflict lasted.

Meanwhile, in 1916, Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward died and bequeathed his valuable oriental library to an American School of Archaeology to be founded in Bagdad, on condition that such a school should be established within ten years after his death.

In 1919, through the joint action of the Committee of the Institute and the Executive Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, Professor Albert T. Clay of Yale was sent out as the annual professor of the last named School, with the understanding that he should spend a portion of the winter in Mesopotamia. It did not prove altogether easy for him to execute this commission. The disturbed conditions that the war had left behind in the Near East made journeying between Mesopotamia and Palestine extremely difficult. However, through the kindness of the British government he was enabled finally to accomplish his purpose. Arrangements were made for him to reach Mesopotamia by way of Bombay and to enter the country at Bassorah. He visited all the important sites that have been explored thus far, and likewise many others that are less well known. At Bagdad he arranged for the housing of the new American School, which it was expected would begin its work as soon as political conditions should be sufficiently settled.

In 1921, the American Schools of Oriental Research were formally incorporated, and all the members of the Mesopotamian Committee of the Archaeological Institute became members of the new Board of Trustees. In September of that same year a plan was formulated and approved, to establish a Bagdad School and to conduct it in connection with the School in Jerusalem. It is expected that students will find it possible to spend part of the year at Jerusalem and part in Mesopotamia, since communication between these two centers will be comparatively easy when the British railway from Damascus to Mosul is opened. Such an arrangement is made

desirable, further, by the climate of Bagdad, which is hardly suited to continuous residence on the part of many American students.

After the death of Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., his valuable and well selected library was presented to the Schools by Mrs. Jastrow. The Assyriological works of this collection, in so far as they do not duplicate Dr. Ward's library, will be forwarded to Bagdad, and a beginning will thus be made of a workshop that will afford students excellent facilities for Mesopotamian research.

Professor Barton has been elected by the Trustees as the first Director of the Bagdad School, and Professor Clay its first professor. Several universities, colleges, and patrons have pledged annual contributions to its support, and it is probable that the new School will be actually opened during the winter of 1922-23.

It is hoped that generous gifts may soon prepare the way to include the work of excavation in the programme. The Jerusalem School on its part has just made a modest beginning of such exploration at Tell el-Fūl, and the Trustees will be glad to inaugurate a similar undertaking in Mesopotamia when the resources permit. Professor Clay, after his tour of inspection, reported that there were enough unexplored mounds to keep the excavators of the Bagdad School busy for hundreds of years. All who may be interested in any phase of the work of the American Schools of Oriental Research are invited to correspond with the Executive Committee.

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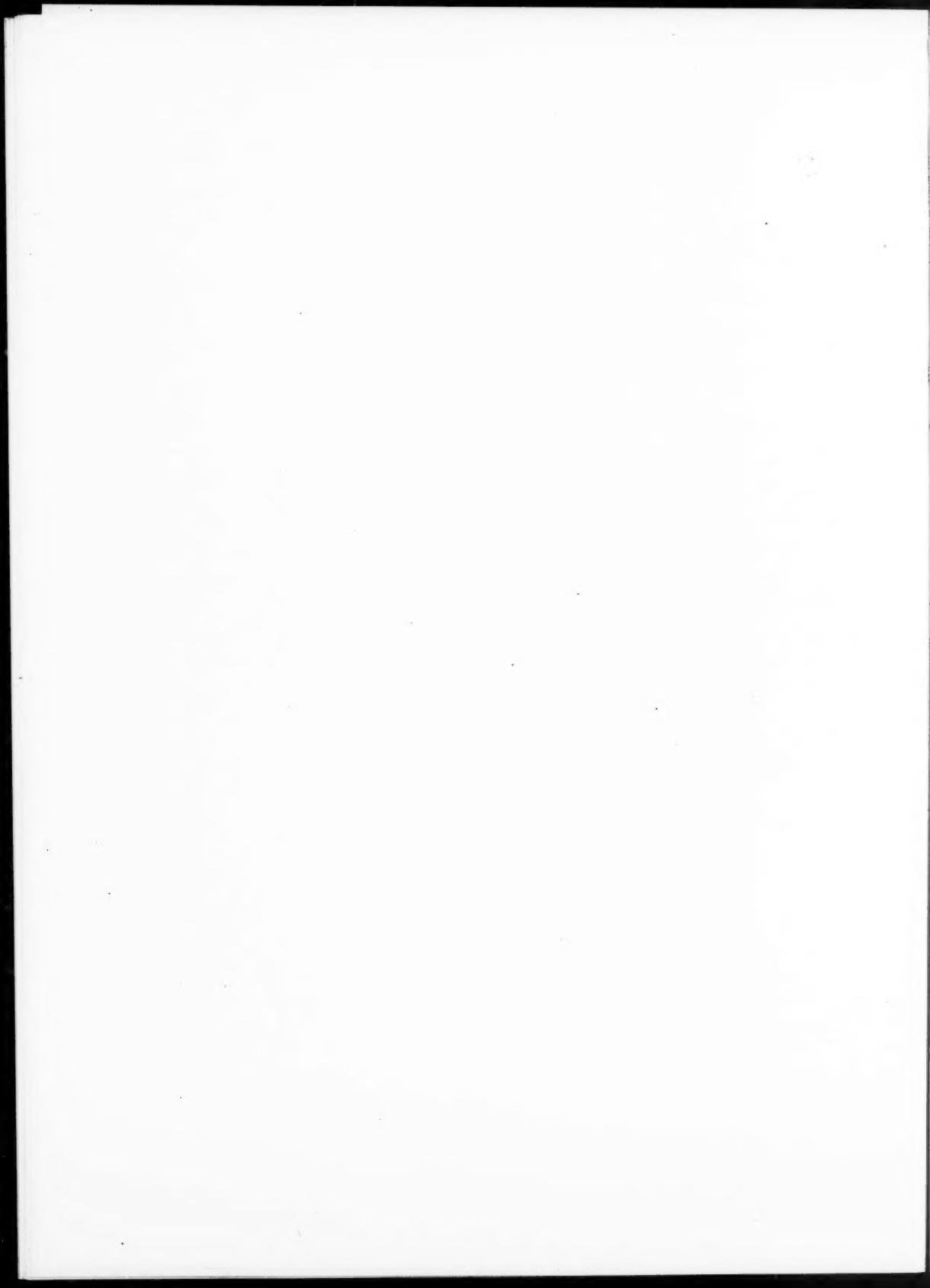
This second number of the Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem is being issued as a double volume (II and III) for the years 1921 and 1922. The publication has been delayed much longer than could be wished by the necessity of making an entire change in the plans for printing.

In justice to the contributors it should be stated that their papers were written some months ago and that they have had no opportunity to take account of important literature that has appeared since that time.

It is expected that Vol. IV, dealing with the excavations at Tell el-Ful, will be issued during the autumn of 1923.

Bangor, Maine,

December, 1922.



CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF  
PALESTINE

BY WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem

*I. The Sites of Ekron, Gath, and Libnah*

Since the time of Robinson<sup>1</sup> it has been almost universally assumed that the ancient Philistine city of Ekron, or better Akkaron,<sup>2</sup> was situated on the same site as that now occupied by the village of 'Āqir. In those days the requirements of an ancient site of importance were little understood, and scholars were quite satisfied with a more or less vague similarity in name, and an elastic agreement with the topographical data available. This will no longer do. In the case of a site with a long and important history, like Ekron, there must be a tell, and potsherds must agree with the literary material before the student can be satisfied with his results. So far, almost the only scholar to apply the argument from potsherds to the determination of the antiquity and identity of tells in various parts of Palestine has been Macalister. A brilliant proof of the exactness of his knowledge and the care of his investigation was furnished by his archaeological survey of the sites on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee,<sup>3</sup> as a result of which he referred Tell Hūm to the Roman period exclusively, Hān Minyeh to the Arab only, and Tell 'Oreimeh to the Late Canaanite (Cypriote pottery main characteristic, Macalister's Second Semitic), all of which has been fully confirmed by the German excavations since then. The British School of Archaeology expects in the near future to make an extensive series of trial cuttings in the ancient mounds of Palestine, to determine their antiquity and provide the historian with a skeleton archaeological history of each important site.

A visit paid to the village of 'Āqir on the 23d of March, 1921, showed clearly that this site possesses none of the needful factors. The village is

<sup>1</sup> See *Biblical Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 226-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Greek form *Ἀκκαρῶν* and the Assyrian *Amqaruna*, pronounced *Anqarōn*, since the Assyrians did not distinguish between *m* and *n* before *g* or *q*, and probably pronounced long *u* as *ō*, like the late Babylonians, while final short vowels had long since been given up, and hence are quite without meaning in late transcriptions.

<sup>3</sup> See PEFQ, 1907, pp. 110-118.

situated, like Zernūqa, in a level plain, and there is not a sign of a tell. Even unimportant, unwalled villages situated on the plain accumulate masses of débris in the course of a millennium or two. Ekron has a recorded history of at least 1500 years, from the Philistine irruption in the first half of the twelfth century B. C. to the time of Eusebius and Jerome,



Fig. 1. Mugār (Cedron?).

and during most of this time it was an important walled city. Moreover, it bears a Semitic name, meaning "the fertile place,"<sup>4</sup> so was certainly in existence before the twelfth century. Robinson reported the discovery of a piece of a pillar, but we found nothing whatever, not even Graeco-Roman

<sup>4</sup>The exact nuance of meaning is naturally no longer discoverable. Aram. 'iqqārā means "root," whence Ar. 'aqqār, "medicinal herbs, drugs." The same word also meant "tendon," just as in the case of Eth. *serw* (so)=Assyr. šir'ānu and Aram. širyānā, "tendon, artery," whence Ar. šaryān, "artery," while the Eth. preserves the meaning "root," in which it is etymologically related to the partially reduplicated Heb. šōreš, along with the secondary "ligament." Heb. 'aqár, "uproot," and 'iggér, "hough"=Ar. 'áqara are both privatives. "Destroy, slaughter," are further intensive developments from these privatives, as are also "be barren, sterile, of woman or land." Ar. preserves an old development, also traceable in Hebrew; the verb *ta'aqqara* means "put forth shoots, grow, of a plant," which illustrates our place-name.

potsherds. In short, Ekron cannot possibly be represented by the modern 'Āqir. Some time after coming to this conclusion, and discovering the true site, I noted that Macalister (*Philistines*, pp. 74-7) had also come to the same conclusion regarding the impossibility of placing Ekron at 'Āqir, and had fixed it at Hirbet Dikerin. This site, several miles south-southeast



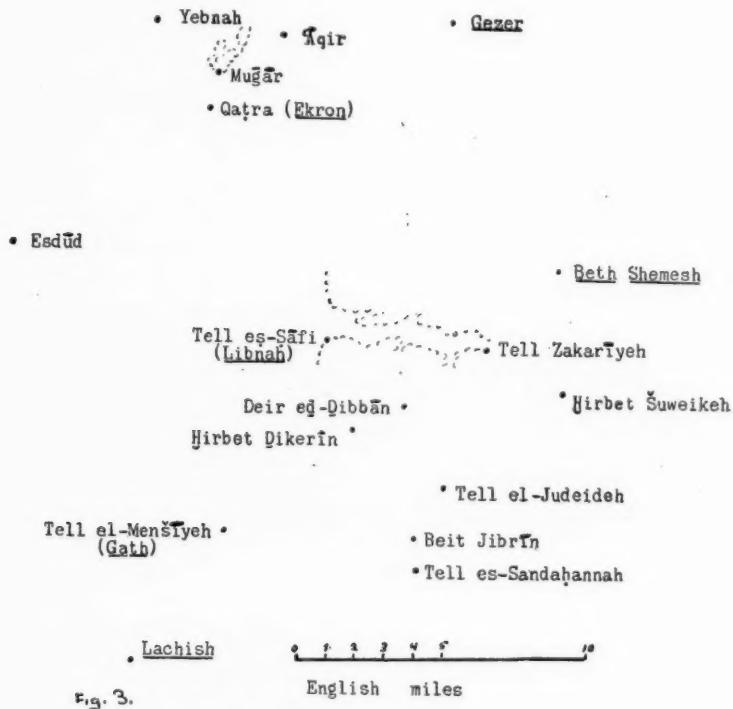
Fig. 2. Yebnah (Jamnia).

of Tell es-Sāfi on the old Roman road from Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrīn) to Diospolis (Ludd), was formerly identified by many scholars with Gath, on the authority of the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, but is undoubtedly identical with the Rabbinic Kefar Dikrin,<sup>5</sup> and thus can have nothing to do with any city of the Philistine Pentapolis, quite aside from the absence of a true mound. Philologically, the combination of 'Aqqarōn with Dikerin is absurd; two of the four consonants and all the vowels are different.

Three miles southwest of the collection of adobe huts which now bears the name 'Āqir is the large hill of Qatra. The modern Arabic village lies on the southeastern slope of the hill, at some distance from the Jewish colony of Gederah, which owes its name to a fanciful combination of

<sup>5</sup> See Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 71.

Guerin's (cf. Jos. 15:36). On the southern end of the hill proper, which is lower than the northern, is a weli with an adjoining Muslim burial ground, in which the natural rock crops out in a number of places. The northern end, however, forms a true tell, along whose outer slope are vast masses of débris, fairly teeming with Graeco-Roman potsherds. Fragments



of wall, and an uncommonly deep cistern, *built*, and cemented, but long since abandoned, testify also to the depth of the mound. In the village itself we found many fragments of marble pillars, and a large marble pillar basis, as well as a fragment of a Latin inscription, with only three letters remaining, which had been built into a wall. The location of Qaṭra is magnificent, and the surrounding country is very fertile. Moreover, since it is three miles nearer Ashdod than the modern 'Āqir, and in a strongly

fortified position by nature, the probabilities are obviously for it. It is incredible that the Philistines should have selected a spot on the open plain, quite unprotected, and more than twelve miles from the nearest neighbor, Ashdod, for one of their capitals. Nor is there any other available location. Muğär, which has a splendid position, has no tell, and the only débris of occupation is at the foot of the hill. That there was an ancient village there is proved by the numerous rock-cut wine-presses on the summit.

Fortunately, we are not left to weigh probabilities, since there is clear literary evidence for our view. Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 22, line 9 f., states: ἡ (Ακκαρών) καὶ ἔστιν κώμη μεγάστη Ἰουδαίων Ἀκκαρών καλούμενη ἀναμέσον Ἀζότου καὶ Ἰαμνίας ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς = Jerome, Latin translation: *et usque hodie grandis vicus civium Judaeorum Accaron dicitur, inter Azotum et Jamniam, ad orientem respiciens.* In other words, Ekron was plainly visible to the traveler from Ashdod to Jamnia (modern Yebnah), on his right. This is not true at all of 'Aqir, which lies four miles nearly due east of Yebnah (the site of which is certain, as it lies on a prominent tell), and is hidden from the road to Ashdod by an unbroken chain of hills running northward for several miles from Muğär. On the other hand, it fits exactly with the situation of Qaṭra, as may be seen from the appended sketch-map.

The possibilities of our problem are not yet quite exhausted, however. It is generally taken for granted that Qaṭra is identical with the Cedron (Κεδρων) of I Mac. 15:39, 41; 16:9. This theory has nothing to do with the impossible combination of Qaṭra with Gederah or Gederoth, a Judaean city mentioned Jos. 15:36, after Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah, all in the Shephelah. The Syrian general Cendebaeus made Cedron the centre of his operations against Judaea, stationing there horses and troops which made forays and harassed the roads leading into Judaea. The sequence of the narrative shows clearly that Cedron was east of Jamnia. Later we hear that the Jews, under John, rose early in their camp at Modin, attacked the army of Cendebaeus, and defeated it, pursuing the fugitives as far as Cedron, and then on to Azotus. There can be no doubt that the geographical position of Qaṭra suits the description, but the position of Muğär is even better, since it is nearer Jamnia, and better provided with cisterns. Our episode then fits in well with the geographical situation; from Modin (Midieh) to Muğär is fifteen miles in a straight line, and from Muğär to Esdūd is ten miles more. Muğär is three miles southeast of Jamnia, and for fugitives retreating from the direction of Modin to Muğär, Esdūd is the only natural goal after failure to find refuge in the latter place.

The name *Qaṭra*, meaning "drop," is not a genuine Arab place-name,

and is therefore to be considered as a popular etymology of an older name. Greek *Kedrōn* is a perfectly possible transcription of a Hebrew\* *Qitrōn*, with the same name as the *Qitrōn* or *Qitrōnah* (see below) of Zebulon. The Hebrew ending *ōn*, which interchanges with *ō*,<sup>6</sup> occasionally disappears or is altered to *ā* (*ah*) in modern Arabic.<sup>7</sup> So we need have no hesitation



Fig. 4. Esdūd (Ashdod).

<sup>6</sup> For the ending *ō* in place-names cf. 'Akkō, *Megiddō*, *Yappō* (Joppa), *Ūsō* (Palaetus), written *Iw-tw* in Egyptian and *Ušū* in Assyrian, but both were pronounced as we have written), *Yerīhō*. This *ō* is identical with the old Semitic feminine ending *āyu*, which appears in Arabic as *ā'u* (cf. Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, Vol. I, p. 410). Sometimes old *ō* is changed by analogy to *ōn*, as in *Megiddōn* for *Megiddō*, but more often the reverse is the case. Thus we have in the *Tuthmosis III* list *Rtn* for Ludd (there is no *d* in New Egyptian) and *'pqn* for later *Afq* (Apheq), which also appeared in Hebrew as *Afqō*, as we know from the modern *Afqā* at the source of the Adonis River (ancient Aphaca). Similarly, Eg. *'rn* is now Tell *'Ara* (cf. *Alt. Pal. Jahrbuch*, 1914, p. 83, n. 2), and Beth-horon has become *Beit-ūr*.

<sup>7</sup> The change of Hebrew *ō* to *ā* in Arabic (through Aramaic) is not a phonetic change, properly speaking, but is an analogical back-formation, of a common type. Since Heb. *ō* corresponded to Aram. *ā* in a great many words, the Aramaeans unconsciously substituted *ā* for *ō* in loan-words and place-names which they appropriated.

in combining the name 'Aqir with old 'Aqqarōn; there has again been a popular etymology, on the basis of Arabic 'āqir, "unfruitful," in this case a *lucus a non lucendo*. Evidently there has been a double shift of place-names; first, the name Ekron was transferred to the Arab village three miles to the northeast, presumably because the inhabitants of the old



Fig. 5. Tell es-Şāfi (Libnah).

place deserted it after a destruction, and carried the name with them. Later the same process was repeated by the people of Cedron. In view of the fact that the mound at Qaṭra is so large and important, we dare not assume that it was really the site of Cedron, which is unknown to history, except from the Cendebaeus episode. Such shifts of name from one site to another a short distance away are extremely common; we may mention the fact that Umm Lākis is three miles from Tell el-Hesi, and that Tell es-Sultān and Jericho are nearly two miles apart.

At present virtually all students of Palestinian topography identify the famous old Philistine city of Gath with Tell es-Şāfi, a prominent mound commanding the entrance to the Wādi es-Şāfi (so perhaps best; local nomenclature varies) from the plain. This theory seems first to have been

advanced by Porter, about 1857,<sup>8</sup> and so comes down to us with the authority of inherited tradition. The other older identifications, with Hirbet Dikerīn (where Macalister places Ekron) and Beit Jibrīn, ancient Betogabra (Talmudic Bēt-gubrīn) or Eleutheropolis, need hardly be mentioned now, as they have both been rendered impossible by archaeological examination of the sites in question. The latter idea was based mainly on a fancied connection of the name *\*Bēt-gabrah*, "House of the cock,"<sup>9</sup> but also perhaps, according to the Talmudic form, "House of heroes," with the Anakim, a race of mythical giants, like the Greek Titans, whose blood was supposed to flow in every giant of later tradition. The combination with Hirbet Dikerīn is based upon a passage in the *Onomasticon*, which runs as follows: Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς ἔτι καὶ ἕνν κώμη (Γεθ) παριόντων ἀπὸ Ἐλευθεροπόλεως ἐπὶ Διόσπολιν περὶ πεμπτον σημεῖον τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως— (Jerome) *Ostenditur vicus in quinto miliario ab Eleutheropoli euntibus Diospolim.* Since Hirbet Dikerīn is four and a half English miles in a straight line from Beit Jibrīn, and situated on the old Roman road leading north in the direction of Ludd (Lydda = Diospolis), the description fits tolerably well, but it should be noted that there are several other possible sites near this same road, at the same distance from Eleutheropolis, for this Gath. None of them, however, have a tell, so, in view of the commonness of the name, which means simply "wine-press," in the ancient topography of Palestine, we may reject the identification proposed by Eusebius without further ado. Jerome has preserved another combination of great inherent probability, as will be shown below.

The arguments in favor of the identification of Tell es-Sāfi with Gath have been best summarized by Bliss (*Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, pp. 62-66), where it is guardedly accepted, and Hölscher (*ZDPV* 34 (1911), pp. 49-53). It is usually assumed that the *Onomasticon* is correct in placing Gath on the road from Eleutheropolis to Diospolis, but that the distance given is incorrect, since Tell es-Sāfi is eight miles from the former town in a straight line, and hence at least nine Roman miles by road. The danger of such an assumption is obvious. From the whole tenor of the references to Gath in the Old Testament, and the fact that it alone of all the Philistine cities was intermittently in the possession of the kings of

<sup>8</sup> See Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, first ed., s.v. *Gath*.

<sup>9</sup> This may explain the cock painted in the tomb of Apollophanes. Naturally, "House of the cock" may well be a popular etymology on the part of the post-exilic Jews, whose mother-tongue was Aramaean. In modern times there has been another popular etymology, combining *jibrīn* (for Talmudic *gubrīn*) with the angel Gabriel, so the form *Beit Jibrīl* has been known since the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. Today the most revered weli in the village is Nébi Jibrīl, from whom the simple villagers trace their origin—an eponymous ancestor arising in a popular etymology!

Judah, it is evident that it lay close to Judaean territory, and presumably at some distance from the other towns of the Pentapolis. According to II Chron. 11:8 Gath was one of the towns which Rehoboam fortified. But the principal support to the theory is found in the description of the Goliath episode, I Sam. 17. The Philistines camped in the Valley of Elah, between Socoh and Azekah. Socoh is probably Ḥirbet 'Abbūd, a few minutes northwest of Ḥirbet Šuweikeh,<sup>10</sup> and Azekah is almost certainly Tell Zakariyeh,<sup>11</sup> so the commonly received identification of the Valley of Elah with Wādi es-Sānt, "Valley of Mimosas," is surely correct. After the defeat at the hands of the Israelites, the Philistines retreated down the valley, which would inevitably carry them down the Wādi ed-Dahr to the Wādi es-Sāfi, and out into the Wādi el-Buršein. I Sam. 17:52 says: And they pursued the Philistines in the direction of (lit. as thou comest to) Gath (so, with LXX) and the gates of Ekron. And they slew (lit. caused the corpses to fall) the Philistines in the road of Shaaraim, as far as Gath and as far as Ekron (Heb. נַתְעַר עֲקָרִין). Shaaraim, "The two

<sup>10</sup> There can be little doubt that the name *Šōkoh* survives in modern Ḥirbet Šuweikeh, especially since two other Socohs correspond to Šuweikeh. The peculiar form of the Arabic is easily explained; Heb. *šōkoh* was popularly etymologized in Arabic as *šaukah*, *šōkeh*, "thorn, prickle," and, in accordance with a widely prevalent tendency in modern Arabic, the diminutive *šuweikeh* was substituted later, just as in the case of *duweir* for *deir*, "monastery." Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, p. 156, says that in his day there were two villages by this name, adjoining one another, in the ninth Roman mile as one goes from Eleutheropolis to Aelia (Jerusalem). Since Ḥirbet Šuweikeh is seven English miles in a straight line northeast of Beit Jibrin, the statement of Eusebius seems to agree perfectly with the identification. Bliss, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 66 f., suggests that Socoh lay at Tell Zakariyeh, three miles to the northwest, but this would bring us into conflict with Eusebius, whose authority is the more valuable here, that the Talmud refers to a Judaean Socoh as still in existence even later. However, Bliss's examination of the débris at Ḥirbet Šuweikeh (PEFQ 1900, 97) showed that there were only a few feet of deposit there, characterized by Roman and Arabic pottery. Hence we may suppose that a Roman and Byzantine Socoh was located here, and that the older Socoh, whose history runs at least as far back as the time of Solomon (I Kings 4:10) and Rehoboam, who fortified it (II Chron. 11:7), lay close by, a circumstance which would explain the two Socohs of Eusebius. Accordingly we may suggest, as the site of the older and more important town, the ruin of Ḥirbet 'Abbūd, a few minutes to the northwest of Ḥirbet Šuweikeh and considerably more extensive.

<sup>11</sup> Since Azekah was a strongly fortified town, with Lachish the last Judaean city to hold out against Nebuchadrezzar's army, we must find a prominent tell. Since it was, moreover, near Socoh, on the same valley, we can only identify it with Tell Zakariyeh, in agreement with the consensus of opinion. Eusebius says that Azekah was still the name of a village between Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem; Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.*, ed. Lagarde, p. 213, states that it was nine miles from Eleutheropolis, which is quite correct, as it is six English miles in a straight line, and we must allow at least a fourth for windings in the road, which here was probably a mere local path.

gates," is a town, mentioned Jos. 15:36 just after Socoh and Azekah. It has been plausibly suggested that it corresponds in meaning to modern Arabic Bāb el-Wād, and so lay at the opening of Wādi es-Ṣāfi. Most scholars interpret our passage artificially, so as to imply that Gath was passed in the way from the Valley of Elah to Ekron, which would

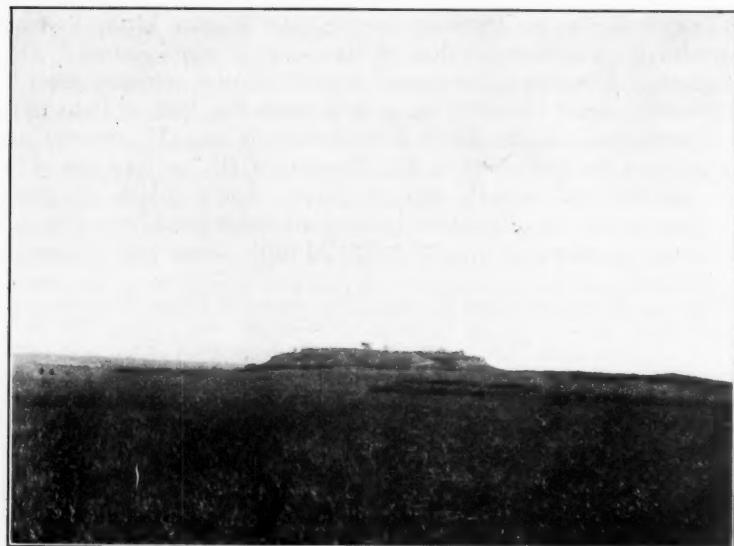


Fig. 6. 'Arāg el-Menšiyeh (Gath).

undoubtedly be a strong argument in favor of its location at Tell es-Ṣāfi. The preceding literal rendering of our passage, however, shows that we can only assume from it safely that Gath and Ekron were the nearest Philistine towns to the opening of the Wādi es-Ṣāfi. I Sam. 7:14 shows that Gath did not lie near Ekron, and indicates strongly that Gath and Ekron were, respectively, the southern and northern foci of Philistine power along the western boundary of the country: "And the towns which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron as far as Gath." That the latter town lay in the southern part of Philistia is certain from the fact that during the reign of Saul part of the Negeb, or southern desert of Judaea, was under the control of Achish, king of Gath. We must, therefore, look for Gath further south.

The most remarkable landmark in southeastern Philistia is the striking mound of Tell el-Menšiyeh, to the north of the modern village of 'Arāq el-Menšiyeh. The top of the hill rises more than two hundred feet above the surrounding plain, and is visible for many miles around. It is at present crowned with garden patches, except in the centre, where there is a small weīl, the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed el-'Areinī, a notable holy man. While the hill is mostly natural, there can be no question that it is surmounted by an ancient mound, whose débris produces relative fertility, giving the tell the characteristic green appearance. There is reason to believe that the sides of the hill were artificially scarped. No ruins are visible, but there are numerous potsherds strewn over the top, mostly modern. Conder, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. III, p. 259, suggested that this is the site of Libnah, pointing out that the adjoining hills of the Shephelah are composed of very white chalk. Tell el-Menšiyeh, however, does not present at all this white appearance, perhaps because there is no true scarp, as at Tell es-Sāfi (see below). Accordingly, there is nothing in the name of Libnah, "The white (city)," to indicate a location here. On the other hand, this is an ideal site for Gath, the name of which requires a site with original rock surface, available for the construction of wine-presses. The identification of Gath with Tell es-Sāfi demanded the assumption that this important Philistine town was built on a hill belonging to the Shephelah, which always remained in Israelite hands. Tell el-Menšiyeh, on the other hand, is some distance from the Shephelah hills, in Philistine territory proper. It is fifteen miles south of Qaṭra, and thus in admirable agreement with I Sam. 7:14, which places Gath and Ekron at some distance from one another, one in the south, the other in the north. Because of its position, it was well adapted to exercise a commanding influence in the western Negeb of Judah, where Ziklag lay, being nearer to the group of tells south of Lachish than any other Philistine city was. Moreover, Tell el-Menšiyeh and Qaṭra are, respectively, seven and a half and nine miles in a straight line from the mouth of Wādi-es-Sāfi, while Esdūd is eleven, so we can understand why the Philistines are said to have fled to these cities after the fall of their champion, Goliath. In II Chron. 11:8 Gath is mentioned with Mareshah, modern Tell Sandahannah, six miles east of Tell el-Menšiyeh. II Chron. 26:6 states that Uzziah fought against Ashdod, and dismantled its fortifications, as well as those of the two subject towns, Gath and Jabneh (Yebnah). Ekron may have been already a dependency or protectorate of Judah, just as in the time of Hezekiah, as we learn from the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib. It is hard to believe that Qaṭra could be in Jewish power, while Tell es-Sāfi was not. In the reign of Sargon (B. C. 711) we find that Gath was still part of the territory of

Ashdod, along with Asdudimmu, or *Ašdōd yam*,<sup>12</sup> the port of the city, modern Minet el-Qal'ah.<sup>13</sup>

Fortunately, we are not wholly dependent upon the argument from archaeological or historical evidence, which is often elusive, and sometimes misleading. Jerome, in his commentary to Micah, 1:10, says, on the authority of a pilgrim, that Gath was still a place of some importance on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza. The road from Beit Jibrīn to Gaza still leads to-day past Tell el-Menshiyeh, as may be seen by a glance at Baedeker. The more direct, southerly road is much more difficult, because of the network of deep wadis to be crossed, and so is still avoided. The statement of Jerome, combined with other considerations, has induced no less an authority than Guthe (*Bibelwörterbuch*, s. v. Gath) to consider the Tell el-Menshiyeh site. The writer, it may be observed, did not see Guthe's remarks until after he had reached the same conclusion independently, and with the aid of a more extensive array of facts than is presented by the latter. The archaeological exploration of Tell es-Sāfi did not yield a shred of evidence for the identification with Gath, while it did produce important supports for its association with Libnah, so we will consider its results below, in connection with our discussion of the site of that town.

Libnah was one of the most important towns of Judah. According to tradition (not, however, confirmed by the Amarna Tablets) it had been one of the Canaanite royal cities, and after the conquest it became a Levitic town, and city of refuge. In the reign of Jehoram it revolted from Judah, while the king was busy in a vain effort to suppress the Edomite rebellion. It must soon, however, have been retaken, since we find it one of the strongest cities of Hezekiah, and it remained in the possession of Judah down to the end of the kingdom (cf. Jer. 52:1).

Jos. 15:42 locates Libnah in the Shephelah, and II Kings 8:22 shows that it must have lain on the very borders, since its loyalty was uncertain. Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, p. 120) states, with reference to the probable site of Libnah (*Λεβνη*): *Καὶ νῦν ἔστι κώμη ἐν τῇ Ἐλευθεροπολετάνῃ λεγομένῃ Λοβανά* = (Jerome) *Nunc est villa in regione Eleutheropolitana*

<sup>12</sup> For the formation cf. the parallel *Śidōn yam*, "Sea-Sidon," in the Phoenician inscriptions. This explanation is not new and is very doubtful.

<sup>13</sup> It may be well to emphasize the fact that these Assyrian topographical data are nearly always singularly accurate. Cf. the precision of Sennacherib's statement (Taylor Cyl., II, 65) regarding the names of four towns in Sharon which he wrested from the control of Śidqa, king of Ashkelon: *Bēt-Daganna*, *Yappū*, *Banā-barqa*, and *Azūru* correspond to the four modern towns of *Bēt Dejan*, *Yāfā*, *Ibn-Ibrāq*, and *Yazūr*, all within a radius of three miles. If we remember that there were no final short vowels in Assyrian (late) and no *yōd*, we shall appreciate the exactness of the transliterations, which correspond to the pronunciations: *Bēt Dagān*, *Yappō*, *Benē Barāq* (Bene Beraq in Joshua) and *Yazūr*.

*quae appellatur Lobna.* This statement of Eusebius is extremely valuable, since he is obviously giving us a theory of his own, combining a then-existing village of Lobna (the form Lobana is wrong), i. e., Lubnah, with the Biblical Libnah. Philologically, the identification made by Eusebius is very happy, since short *i* has a very strong tendency to become *u* before a labial in Semitic (which explains the reverse tendency in modern Syrian Arabic). The location in the district of Eleutheropolis is in absolute accord with the statement in Joshua. What a pity that Eusebius does not give a more precise location! However, Tell es-Ṣāfi seems to be the only reasonable identification, since it is the only important tell on the border between Philistia and Judaea which can really be said to be situated in the district of Eleutheropolis. It is much nearer Beit Jibrīn than it is to any other important Roman city, such as Hebron, Ascalon, Jamnia, Diospolis (Ludd), Nicopolis (Emmaus), or Jerusalem. Even to-day, the mukhtars of Tell es-Ṣāfi and Beit Jibrīn are cousins, and the two villages are connected by many ties.

The very name *Libnah*, "The white (city)," has led various scholars to propose the identification, though it has never been vigorously maintained. The name *Tell es-Ṣāfi* means "The bright, shining tell," given because of the vivid white limestone scarps of the hill, which had once inspired the Crusaders to call it *Blanche Garde*. At Tell es-Ṣāfi, Bliss found important traces of the Crusaders' fortress.

Important evidence for our theory may be derived from the record of Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah. After the capture of Lachish, represented in some detail on the Assyrian monuments, Rab-shakeh, on his return from a mission to Jerusalem, found Sennacherib engaged in the siege of Libnah (II Kings 19:8 = Isa. 37:8). From Lachish there were two natural routes to Jerusalem open to the Assyrian king. He might move up to 'Arāq el-Menšiyeh, and turn eastward to Beit Jibrīn, or he might keep straight on northward to Tell es-Ṣāfi, and turn into the Valley of Elah, which would carry him by a gradual ascent, suitable for chariots, to within a few miles west of El-Hidr, on the edge of the central ridge, over which the remaining eight miles' march was comparatively easy. The first route requires the crossing of a long series of hills and valleys, and is not nearly so easy. Moreover, it would expose him to constant danger from ambush, in the day when the hills were often covered with a dense growth of scrub timber. Three generations ago ambushes were very common on the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, but now the remaining timber has all been cut off. Nor would it have been prudent for a master of the art of war, like the Assyrian king, to have marched directly up to Jerusalem, leaving an unsubdued tract of country about Tell es-Ṣāfi between the border and his army, a bit of carelessness which would have endangered his communications with

the rear. Our identification of Libnah with Tell es-Ṣāfi removes all the difficulties, and makes the Assyrian plan of campaign very clear.

The plan of Joshua's campaign against the cities of western Judah, after the disastrous Canaanite retreat from Beth-horon, is not nearly so clear, a fact which does not make one any more confident of the historical value of the slippery narrative. However, though it is probably an artificial construction of the historiographer, attached to a genuine tradition of the fight at Beth-horon, the latter doubtless knew the country well enough to avoid the worst mistakes in topography. After the Canaanites had been defeated at Gibeon (Jos. 10:10) they fled northwestward to Beth-horon, and then, according to the report before us, turned abruptly to the southwest, and fled over twenty miles to Azekah (Tell Zakariyeh) and Makkedah (perhaps Deir ed-Dibbān,<sup>14</sup> four miles straight southwest of Tell Zakariyeh,

<sup>14</sup> This village is situated in a very strong position, on the summit of a large hill, provided with almost unlimited supplies of cistern water. It has often been thought that there was an ancient city under the modern, though the accumulation of débris is not great enough for a city of any considerable importance. This agrees with the fact that, though considered by tradition as one of the Canaanite royal cities, it is mentioned only in Joshua, and does not occur in the Amarna Tablets (Makidda is certainly Megiddo) or the Egyptian lists (Max Müller thought, *Asien und Europa*, p. 162, note, that the My-q-t<sub>2</sub> of the Tuthmosis list, No. 30, was Makkedah, but since it occurs between 'Astart Qarnayim and La'is, he gave this view up in MVAG, 1907, p. 14). Deir ed-Dibbān is almost the only available site between Azekah and Libnah for Makkedah; moreover, Eusebius places the latter eight miles from Eleutheropolis, which agrees tolerably well with the actual distance of five English miles, since we must allow here, as usually in the hill country, from a fourth to a third for inevitable detours, making a real distance of seven English miles. Another strong argument may be derived from the tradition that the Canaanite kings hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah. The tradition, or rather legend, in this case, presupposes the existence of an extraordinary cavern here, around which legends crystallized. At Deir ed-Dibbān are located some of the most remarkable caverns in Palestine, if not quite the most extraordinary. This perhaps explains the name, since the caves are in the same hill as the town. *Maggedah* means literally "The hollowed-out place," from *naqád*=Ar. *náqada*, "pick, peck, hollow out." In this connection we may observe that the neighboring mound of Tell ej-Judeideh, three miles to the southeast, is perhaps the site of the Biblical Keilah, which can hardly be located at the insignificant ruin of Ḥirbet Qilā. The names of many of these Palestinian *bírab* belonged originally to sites many miles distant; cf. Ḥirbet 'Asqalān and Ḥirbet Beit Jibrīn, etc. Keilah is mentioned Jos. 15: 42-4 between Libnah, or Tell es-Ṣāfi, and Mareshah, or Tell Sandahannah, three miles southwest of Tell ej-Judeideh; the other places given in our passage cannot be identified. I Sam. 23 shows that Keilah lay in a frontier district, exposed to Philistine assaults, and also that it was a fortified town in a fairly strong position. The Amarna Letters (cf. Knudtzon-Weber, p. 1330 f.) indicate that Qilti lay midway between Gezer, Gath (Tell el-Menṣiyeh), and Bethlehem (E-ēt-NINURTA; so Schroeder). A site with so long a history must have left an important tell; for the results of the excavations at Tell ej-Judeideh cf. Bliss-Macalister, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-51.

and the same distance southeast of Tell es-Sāfi). Joshua followed them to Makkedah, defeated them again, captured the city, and then marched in succession to Libnah and Lachish, which were easily captured. It is clear that we cannot derive much information from this narrative.<sup>15</sup>

The excavations carried on by Bliss and Macalister at Tell es-Sāfi (see *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, pp. 28-43) lasted only four months of the year 1899, so it is hardly surprising that the results were meagre. Moreover, only a very insignificant part of the total Israelite city, which covered a space approximately 1200 feet by 600 (extreme measurements), was available for excavation, owing to the fact that the modern village and cemetery, weli, etc., covered most of the ground. Three strata of pottery were found: early Canaanite (down to about 1700 B. C., not "as far back as the 17th century B. C."), late Canaanite, and Jewish. The late Canaanite (late pre-Israelite) also includes the Philistine period of sub-Mycenaean pottery, cir. 1150 B. C. on, and the Jewish includes Hellenistic. Bliss thinks that the site was abandoned between the Seleucidan period and the time of the Crusaders, but it is more probable that the Roman and Byzantine village of Lobna occupied the edge of the hill, like the modern Arab village. The quantities of painted Philistine pottery have often been advanced as an argument for the identity of Tell es-Sāfi with Gath (e. g. by Thiersch<sup>16</sup>), but this position is untenable now that we know how the influence of Philistine culture extended through the towns of the Shephelah. Similar Philistine ware has been found in quantities in strata superimposed on Canaanite-Cypriote layers in Lachish, Azekah, Gezer, and Beth-Shemesh, none of which were Philistine towns. The excavations now being carried on at Ashkelon provide an opportunity for the comparison of wares of the same period from a genuine Philistine settlement, and the Philistine finds in the Shephelah begin to make much less of an impression, compared with the richness of the ceramic deposits in the former. Furthermore, in a Philistine city, occupied by the Jews only for brief intervals, it would be very strange to find so many jar-handles with royal Jewish pottery stamps as were discovered in the Jewish strata at Tell es-Sāfi.

Most interesting of all the discoveries made at Tell es-Sāfi was a limestone tablet (not stele, as described in the publication), five pieces of which were

<sup>15</sup> It may be added that Libnah is mentioned on the Shishak list (see the additional cartouches recovered by Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. II, p. 113 f.) between *Rph*, Raphia, and *'ngrn*, Ekron, as *R-bw-n*; the feminine *t*, still written in the Tuthmosis list, is omitted now, because it was no longer pronounced by the Jews. On the other hand, the *Rbn* of the Tuthmosis list, No. 10, after Dothan, is certainly not Libnah.

<sup>16</sup> See *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1908, pp. 378-384.

found and placed in the Turkish museum in Jerusalem. In the restoration of the museum undertaken since the war, three of these fragments have come to light again. The representation does not appear ever to have been explained; since it is of importance for us, and since the drawing given on p. 41 of the publication is very bad, failing to furnish a correct idea, a

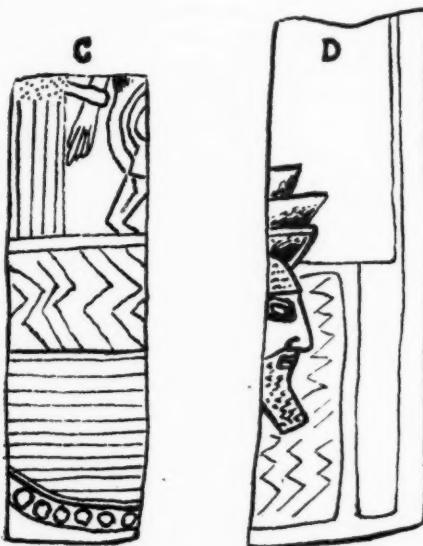


Fig. 7. Fragments of Assyrian Tablet.

new one is herewith presented. In the lower register we see a ship being launched, as shown clearly by the outline of the hull, the wooden rollers under it, the water around, and the head of the man swimming in front. The register above shows in fragment b (now lost; see Bliss and Macalister) the rump of an ox, with part of the hind legs and tail, and a ribbon (?) tied to the latter. In c we have the hind quarters of a sheep, with a man grasping its fat tail. In d, finally, there is part of an altar. While the representation is very rough, evidently designed as a mere sketch, there can be no doubt that the upper register portrays the sacrifice of an ox and a sheep, to hallow the launching of a ship under royal Assyrian auspices. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt as to the purpose of the tablet. It is an artist's sketch, intended to preserve the motive for a later bas-relief in alabaster. The soft chalk limestone of Tell es-Sāfi is admirably adapted for such a purpose, for which the Egyptian artists of

Tell el-Amarna also preferred soft limestone. As to the date, there can be little doubt that our tablet comes from the reign of Sennacherib.<sup>17</sup> The latter, in his Taylor Cylinder, IV, 26, states that he employed Hittite, i. e. Phoenician vessels for an expedition on the Persian Gulf, probably for the first and last time in Assyrian history. Monumental representations of these Phoenician ships have been found at Kuyunjik; cf. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Vol. II, plate 71.

If, then, the tablet comes from the reign of Sennacherib, we can hardly avoid seeing in it a memorial of the brief occupation of Libnah by Sennacherib shortly after 690,<sup>18</sup> in his second campaign against Hezekiah. It is a slight, but none the less welcome confirmation of our view.

## II. Some Sites and Names in Western Galilee

Of all important districts in the Holy Land, southwestern Galilee has been the least studied from a topographical point of view. And yet there is no section so rich in promising mounds, the contents of which will certainly in many cases take us back into the remote eras of proto-history. The western part of the Plain of Esdraelon, and the Plain of Aecho are dotted with interesting tells, and there can be no doubt that they conceal stores of treasures for the archaeologist and the historian. So far, only two have been attacked by the excavator's spade, and though Taanach and Megiddo have only been scratched, rather than dug, and their ceramic archives, so important for the history of a site, have been almost wholly

<sup>17</sup> Thiersch had not seen the original, but only the excessively bad drawing in Bliss-Macalister, when he described our tablet as a "Persian stele" (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1908, 373). The head makes a certain Iranian appearance in Macalister's copy, but the original is purely Assyrian, and at least two hundred years earlier than Thiersch would place it.

<sup>18</sup> The long puzzling question of whether there were one or two campaigns of Sennacherib against Hezekiah has now been definitely solved in favor of the second contention. In an important article in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*, pp. 319-328, Rogers has come over to this side, owing to the discovery of important new material. However, I am convinced that the account of the second campaign begins Ch. 18:17, instead of 19:9, as Rogers thinks, and that, therefore, the siege of Libnah belongs to the second war, and not to the expedition of 701. The recent treatment by Reisner in the *Harvard Journal of Theology*, 1920, pp. 31-42, is rather inadequate, based on a hypercritical attitude toward the Old Testament evidence and an antiquated view of the Assyrian material. It is rather dazing, at this late date, to hear of the distinction between a "Cush" in Arabia and Cush-Ethiopia and between a "Musri" in Arabia, and the Semitic name for Egypt. Meluhja is certainly Ethiopia. Reisner is obviously not aware of the convincing evidence which has come to light for a campaign of Sennacherib in the West after 689, or of Schäfer's recent discovery of the Egyptian royal name *Sb(y)*, corresponding to the Biblical Sewe (So) and the Assyrian Sibe. His brilliant discoveries in Ethiopia, important as they are, furnish no aid to the solution of the problem at issue.

neglected, the finds made in them give an earnest of the revelations we may expect in the future. It is by no means always the large mound which yields most productively; often a small tell met with a rapid and unrepaired destruction which preserved its furniture and inscriptions for a curious posterity. The finest Canaanite bronzes so far discovered come, not from

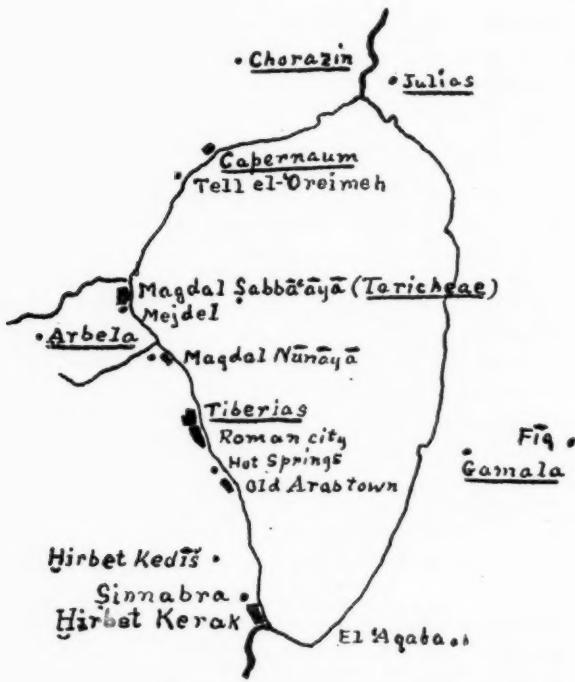


Fig. 8.

Lachish or Gezer, but from the tiny mound of Tell el-'Oreimeh, overhanging the Sea of Galilee. British excavators in Babylonia since the war had a very similar experience in digging a small hillock near Ur.

The town of Beth Anath, "House of the goddess 'Anat,'" is mentioned in Jos. 19:38 and Jud. 1:33 as being in the territory assigned to Naphtali, but as remaining in Canaanite hands after the conquest, along with Beth Shemesh. The latter was situated between Mt. Tabor and the Jordan, if

we may judge from Jos. 19:22: "And the territory (of Issachar) extended to Tabor, and Shahazimah, and Beth Shemesh, and the end of their territory (lit. outgoings of their border) was at the Jordan." Beth Shemesh has often been identified with the modern Ḥirbet Šemsin, a little southeast of the Jewish colony at Yemma, but there does not appear to be any old mound at this site, which is, moreover, hardly in a place where we should expect a Canaanite city to defend itself long against Israelite onslaughts. On the other hand, if we locate the ancient city at modern Tell eš-Šemdin, an obviously intentional alteration of a \*Tell eš-Šemsin, five miles to the southeast, in the Ghōr, we shall have an admirable situation, except for the presence of malaria, as at Beth-shan. Two miles to the north is the mouth of the Yarmūk, and a mile south the perennial stream of Wādi el-Bireh flows through the plain of the Ghōr. The agricultural possibilities are excellent, as the writer observed on a trip from the Jewish colony at Daganya to Beisān, April 24, 1921. A town located here, less than four hours from Beth-shan, with a level road the whole way, would have comparatively little difficulty in maintaining its independence for a season.

The juxtaposition of the names Beth Anath and Beth Shemesh in the two passages is due, first, to the fact that the names are similar, and secondly, to their parallel history, but it does not justify us in assuming that they were located close together geographically. Fortunately, we have evidence for the site which has hitherto been disregarded by most scholars. The Talmud of Jerusalem ('Orlah) names as one of the Galilean towns on the Jewish border Bēanā (so, instead of בְּאַנָּה in the text), which the Tosefta (*Kiláyim*, 2) gives as Bēt-anah (בֵּית עֲנָה). This is obviously identical with our Bēt-Anat, as Neubauer saw,<sup>1</sup> and further with modern Be'neh.<sup>2</sup> In Palestinian Aramaic, as well as Aramaic generally (cf. *Bāgarmā* for *Bēt Garmā*, and *Yāqūt*, *Lex. Geog.*, s. v. لَهْ ) the element *bēt* was often contracted to *bē*; numerous examples are found in Josephus and the patristic writers, as well as in the Talmuds, both Palestinian and Babylonian. Talmudic *Bēšān*, for *Bētšān*, appears in Arabic as *Beisān*. The ancient town of Beth Anath was probably situated at the mound of Jelamet el-Be'neh, less than a mile southeast of Be'neh, and surrounded by fertile fields; the word *jēlāmeh*,<sup>3</sup> "hill, mound," is sometimes employed instead of *tell*; cf. Jelamet el-Manṣūrah, below the Muhraqah, which is also the site of a ruined village of some antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 235 f.

<sup>2</sup> This identification, which I had completely overlooked, supersedes the rash suggestion in *JPOS*, 1921, p. 55, n. 3, that Beth Anath might be Tell Belāt. That site, with its remarkable temple, still remains to be identified. The Egyptian evidence, which places Bēt 'Anat near the Phoenician coast, to the south of Tyre and Üsō, is still valid, however.

<sup>3</sup> Modern *jēlāmeh* is a modification of older *jalhamah*, and is not found in the lexicons.

There is already, however, a rival claimant for the honor of representing this old Canaanite town in the modern village of 'Ainīta, in northern Galilee. Unfortunately, there are no ancient remains there, and the name is obviously identical with 'Ainēta, a common place-name in Syria, which is simply *imāleh* for 'Ainātā, an Aramaic word meaning "Springs," and thus not possibly connected with Beth Anath. Moreover, we are in a position to show that Beth Anath must have been much further south. It appears not to have been noticed so far that the phrase *Shamgar ben Anath*, Jud. 3:31; 5:6, does not mean "Shamgar son of the goddess Anath," or the like, but simply "Shamgar of the city Beth Anath," in accordance with an almost universal Aramaean,<sup>4</sup> Assyrian,<sup>5</sup> and Hebrew idiom.<sup>6</sup> In the Bible we find it, e. g., in the expressions *Bēt Ya'qob* and *Benē Ya'qob*, *Bēt 'Eden* (Assyr. *Bit Adini*) and *Benē 'Eden* (cf. Assyr. *mār Adini*), as well as in *Hadad-ezer ben Rehōb* for Hadadezer of Beth Rehob, like the Assyrian *Ba'sa mār Ruhubi* (of Ammon) for Baasha of Beth Rehob. The basic idea is that a tribe or settlement was founded by the ancestor of the later inhabitants, who therefore gives his name to it, a conception not always correct, even in the Old Testament. With singular tenacity it has survived to the present day, as illustrated by the belief of the people of Beit Jibrin that Nébi Jibrin (or Jibril) was their ancestor.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The late Aramaic dialects use *bēt* and *berē* like the corresponding Hebrew words. The Zakir stele shows that the singular *br* was similarly employed in Old Aramaic; the king of Bēt-Gōs, whom the Assyrians call *mār Gūsi*, is termed *br Gās*. The Assyrian inscriptions also employ the name *Bit-Gūsi*, but the gentilic is *Kūsā'a*, i. e. *Gūsā'a*. In general the Assyrian usage is somewhat different from the Hebrew-Aramaic. While the latter employs *bēt* regularly, like the Assyrian, it uses the gentilic in the singular, and *benē*, *berē* in the plural. The Assyrians, on the other hand, use *mār* in the singular, like the earlier Hebrews and Arameans, but nearly always employ the gentilic in the plural.

<sup>5</sup> Ungnad was the first to explain this usage clearly, and to prove it with a wealth of examples in OLZ, 1906, pp. 224-7. Many more illustrations might be given.

<sup>6</sup> See also JPOS, 1921, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> In this connection may be mentioned a curious Palestinian superstition, that springs belonging to places the names of which contain the element *beit* are "uyūn el-hasr, i. e. "springs of retention (of urine)"; see Canaan, JPOS, 1921, p. 158. This may be due to the fact that most such places in Palestine were sacred to the worship of the deity whose "house" they were; cf. the many towns by the name of *Bēt-Dagōn*, *Bēt-lāhm*, *Bēt-śemeš*, *Bēt-yārēh* (at least two, one in Phoenicia, the other on the Sea of Galilee), to say nothing of *Bēt-'Anat*. Hence there may have been a special tabu placed upon the use of the water of the holy fountain for ordinary purposes. In connection with the foregoing list of names, it may be well to raise the question whether the name *Bēt-śe'an* or *Bēt-śan* does not belong here. The Egyptian writing is always *Bytśr* or *Bytśnr*, i. e., *Bytśl*. At times I have considered the possibility that this Egyptian writing may refer to the Besara, for \*Betsara, of Josephus, which lay at Hirbet el-Beida, in the northwestern corner of Esdraelon, but the new difficulties raised by this theory are

We learn from the two references in Judges (see my article referred to above) that Shamgar was a Canaanite (Hittite) tyrant, who oppressed Israel and yet won a title to its gratitude by repulsing the Philistines. Elsewhere it has been shown that this defeat of the Philistines by Shamgar refers to the first Philistine invasion, about the eighth year of Rameses III, c. 1190 B. C. When we read in the Song of Deborah:

In the days of Shamgar ben-Anath  
And wayfaring men  
in . . . days the caravans ceased,  
followed crooked paths.

we gain the picture of a tyrant of western Galilee, supporting the retainers to whom he owed his power by plundering expeditions and robbery of caravans and merchants. It is just such a picture as we gain from the Amarna Tablets for Zatatna or Sutatna (written Šutatna) of Accho, whose influence extends as far as Megiddo, and whose retainers allow themselves the liberty of plundering a Babylonian caravan, and even of slaying the merchants and envoys of the Babylonian monarch. In those days of Egyptian weakness and court intrigues it was easy to escape punishment. While Rameses III was at first a stronger ruler, it is probable that Shamgar's raids against Israel were interpreted favorably, as the subjection of the rebellious Hebrews (*Habiru*), whose occupation of central Palestine had seriously interfered with the proceeds of the Syrian tribute.

Since Be'neh is less than two hours up the Wâdi Şağûr from its emergence in the Plain of Accho, it is easy to understand why its prince should have taken up arms to repulse the Sea-peoples, who had doubtless established their camp in the plain, from which they could make raids on all sides. It is more than likely that the latter were not completely expelled on this occasion, since a few years later we find that the town of Harosheth, modern Tell 'Amr,<sup>8</sup> near Hâritîyeh, is in the hands of the *goyîm*, or

very much more serious than the ones adhering to the identification with Bēt-še'ān. The Bēt-še-el explanation is really quite impossible, both because no such city is elsewhere known, and because it is an unparalleled formation; Methusael is a learned variant of Methuselah, and not a native Hebrew name at all. It therefore seems practically certain that the Egyptian writing is only another illustration of the widespread, though sporadic, interchange between *l* and *n* in Semitic. Our name was, then, originally *Bēt-še'āl*, perhaps "House of the god *še'āl* or *še'ōl*," the god of the underworld, and hence of fertility as well as of death, like the Babylonian *Nergal-Gira*, and the Latin *Pluto*. When this god, like *Lahm*, was forgotten, a popular etymology arose, just as in the case of *Lahm*, who now became *lēhem*, "bread," and *še'āl* became *še'ān*, "security." The relation between *še'āl* and *še'ōl* is like that between *dāgān*, "grain," and the divine name *Daōōn*; *Hadād* also appears as *Hadōd* (JAOS, 1920, p. 314, n. 14).

\* Tell 'Amar and Tell el-Qassis, a few miles further up the Kishon, at the entrance to the pass from the Plain of Esdraelon, are both Canaanite mounds of great interest, since they both may reflect a period of fortress building on the part of some great Canaanite or other Oriental power. That they are fortresses, rather than ordinary towns, is proved both by their situation and by their relatively small size.

"Barbarians" (in the sense of being allophyli, immigrating in hordes, or national groups), under the leadership of Sisera, whose name sounds neither Semitic nor Hittite, while it has been compared to a *Kftyw* name.

There can be no doubt that a Beth Anath at Be'neh would still be within



Fig. 9. Tell 'Amr (Harosheth).

the territorial limits assumed in Jos. 19 as belonging to Naphtali. The tribe or district of Asher occupied the coastal plain and the foothills only, so the hinterland belonged to Naphtali. Verse 34 states that the borders of Naphtali extended to Zebulon on the south side and to Asher on the west. Now, we learn from v. 13 that the eastern boundary of Zebulon ran from Tabor up through Gath-hepher, modern Mešhed, up to Rimmon, or

Rummāneh, whence the border turned westward. Then, since Be'neh is ten miles north of Rummāneh, but only two miles west, it is natural to place it in the territory of Naphtali, in agreement with the implications of v. 34. Beth Anath escaped the fate of the other central Galilean towns because of its strong location in a small plain communicating directly with the Plain of Accho.

The Plain of Accho is literally dotted with ancient mounds, some of which do not seem to have been occupied since Canaanite times, while others were certainly abandoned before the time of the Crusades, such as Tell Qīsān (not Qeisān), on which Saladin fixed his headquarters during the siege of 'Akkā. On the northern edge are the large mound of Tell Berweh (which was the only name the writer could obtain from the inhabitants of the neighborhood; the "Tell el-Gharby," or western mound of the Survey doubtless rests upon a misunderstanding) and the small one of Tell et-Tanṭūr, "Mound of the horn-shaped tiara," doubtless referring to the shape of the tell. Farther south are the fine mounds of Tell Da'ūq and Tell Qīsān. Farther south still are Tell Qurdāneh and Tell en-Nahl. "Mound of the drinking," here a *lucus a non lucendo*, and hence obviously a popular etymology. In the extreme south of the plain are Tell el-Fār, el-Harbaj, a modern village crowning a splendid tell, Tell es-Semn, and Tell 'Amr, in the narrows of the Kishon. The other mounds and *ḥirab* do not appear to be of any consequence.

El-Harbaj the writer would suggest as the site of the important ancient town of Hannathon. We have the following data for the situation of this city. Amarna 8: 17 places it in the territory of Accho. While it is true that Josephus, *Wars*, V, 24, fixes the southeastern border of Accho at Besara, which Oehler (ZDPV 28, pp. 66 f.) has combined with Hirbet el-Beida, on the northwestern edge of Esraelon, we can hardly assume that the 'Akkō of the Amarna period controlled so much territory as the Roman Ptolemais. Moreover, Amarna 245: 32 unmistakably places Hannathon on the road from Accho to Megiddo. Biridiya of Megiddo complains to the Pharaoh that he captured the arch-enemy, Labaya, as instructed, and turned him over to Zurata of Accho, who promised to put the prisoner on a ship and send him to Egypt. On the way from Megiddo to Accho, however, Zurata decided that the ransom offered by Labaya was attractive, and released him, sending him "from Hinatuna<sup>8</sup> to his house."

<sup>8</sup> The writing *Hinatuna* is found also, nearly seven hundred years later, in an inscription of Tiglathpileser III (so, not IV) describing his conquest of the northern kingdom. Amarna 8:17 writes *Hinnatuni*; the correct pronunciation is *Hinnatōn*; in Hebrew we have a back-formation as a reaction from the phonetic principle by which *a* in a closed, unaccented syllable becomes *i* (Philippi's Law). The idea of Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, that the name only dates from the reign of Amenophis IV and is

Now, el-Harbaj is the only important mound in the Plain of Aecho which lies on the road southward from 'Akkā to the narrows of the Kishon. The Babylonian envoys and merchants of Burnaburiaš evidently followed the same road, turning off at Jokneam (Tell Qeimün)<sup>10</sup> to cross the hills south of Carmel, striking the road which now leads from Haifa to Jaffa at Tell el-Asāwir, ancient Yaham. This would seem to have been the most popular ancient road from Phoenicia to Sharon (cf. also Alt, *Pal. Jahrbuch*, 1914, pp. 75-79).

The Old Testament mentions Hannathon only Jos. 19: 14, where we are told that the eastern border of Zebulon ended at Rimmon (Rummāneh), whence it turned to Neah, an unknown place. The northern border proper made a bend around to Hannathon, and ended in the valley of Jephthah-el (Yiftah-el). It is remarkable that v. 11 carries the boundary of Zebulon

identical with the name of the capital of the latter, "Khutaten" (i. e. ȝyt-itn, pronunciation unknown) is quite impossible, but one could perhaps identify it with the name of the king himself, *Iȝyinitn*, approximately to be pronounced Iḥnatón. The only difficulty is that Amarna 245, where the name first occurs, belongs to the reign of Amenophis III. The name is good Semitic, being an *ōn* formation from a feminine noun belonging to the stem *hun*; cf. the word *hannat*, "wife, spouse," found in Aramaic, in Arabic, as well as in Egyptian.

<sup>10</sup> While not absolutely certain that the Jokneam of Carmel is Tell Qeimün, it is highly probable. The Tuthmosis list, No. 113 offers 'nqn'm, or 'En-qin'am, just as we have both *Yible'am* and *Bil'am*, which prevails in modern *Bel'amch*. A \**Qin'am* could easily become by metathesis \**Qim'an*, from which the passage to *Qeimün* is easy. The Old Testament offers the variant form *Yoqme'am*, which may be simply an error. It is better to leave the Cyamon of Judith out of account entirely. It may be observed that we have still another place-name in Galilee containing the element 'am, "people." This is the *Sefar'am* of the Talmud, modern *Sefā'Amr*, which exhibits a transposition of the *r* and an extraordinary popular etymology, "Healing of 'Amr," alluding to one of the Galilaean national heroes of the eighteenth century, whose name is found in many other place-names (e. g. Tell 'Amr). It is probable that *Sefar'am* is a modification of an original form with the imperfect instead of the imperative, \**Yišpar'am*, which probably means "The people rules" (Assyr. *šapāru*, Arab. *saffara*, "send, commission"); the Assyr. also means "rule," while Heb. *safār*, *sippēr* is denominative from the Assyr. loanword *séfer*, "document"). In the same way we have *Yible'am*, perhaps for \**Yabil'am*, "The people produces (offspring)" shortened to *Bil'am* (note the correct imperative form) and \**Yigne'am* (the vocalization is required by the modern form; the MT offers a passive, which was probably alternative) "The people acquires (wealth)." Similarly, forms like *Rehab'am* (Rehoboam) are modifications of \**Yirhab'am*, "The people is extended," like *Yarob'am* (Jeroboam) which should be rendered "The people increases" (*yarōb* is the regular imperfect of *rabāb*, "increase") or perhaps, though not so probably, "The people rules" (*rabba* in Arabic has the specific meaning "to rule, of people"). We may compare also many old Amorite names found in the cuneiform inscriptions; note especially the three names from the Amorite Dynasty of Babylonia, *Ammu-ráwih*, "The people is extended," *Ammi-ditān*, "My people is mighty," and *Ammi-sáduq*, "My people is righteous."

on the southwest only from Șadūd (MT Sarid, which is generally agreed to be a corruption), modern Tell Șadūd, to the "stream before Jokneam." Since the insignificant Wādi el-Milh, which skirts the tell on the west, cannot be said to flow before it, we can only understand that the Kishon is referred to. Then we have no statement about the boundary between

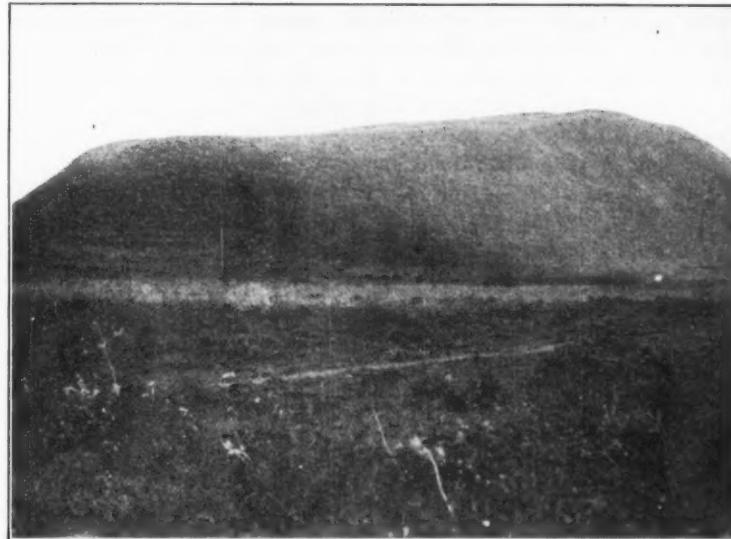


Fig. 10. Tell Qeimün (Jokneam).

the Kishon and the end of the valley of Jephthah-el. This difficulty will, however, be solved if we can find an important *wādi* running from the Sahl Buṭṭauf, on the southern slope of which Rimmon lay, into the Kishon in the southern part of the Plain of Aecho. Precisely in this situation is situated the most important stream in all western Galilee, aside from the Kishon—the perennial Wādi el-Melik, whose association with the town of Alammelech in Asher is without foundation. El-Harbaj is located about two miles above its mouth, and just at the point where the *wādi* crosses the road from Aecho to Megiddo, so we may consider our identification practically certain. The ordinary identification of Jephthah-el with the Wādi 'Abellin is erroneous, as is also the attempt to combine the name philologically with Jotapata-Yōdēfet.

The territory claimed by Zebulon, however, clearly was at times more extensive, since v. 15 also includes Kattath and Nahallal (so, in AV), which, according to Jud. 1: 30, remained in the hands of the Canaanites, so evidently lay out on the plain of Accho, beyond Hannathon. The correct forms of these two names are probably *Nahalol* or *Nahalal*, with MT, and \**Qitronat*, which we may deduce from the variant forms *Qitron*, *Qattat*, and *Qatnat* (so LXX, *Kataraθ*). The usual combination of Nahalol with Ma'lul, west of Nazareth, which is based upon a combination in the Talmud, is philologically most unsatisfactory. On the other hand, it is almost identical in form with the *nahl* in *Tell en-Nahl*, where we have merely haplogy and folk-etymology. \**Qitronat* has never been identified, but may easily be represented by the modern Tell Qurdāneh, a fairly large mound four miles northeast of Tell en-Nahl. We have in this case transposition and partial assimilation of the *t* to the voiced *r*; cf. above on Kedron and Qatra.

It can hardly be objected that the Plain of Accho seems to have been assigned principally to the tribe of Asher, for we do not know what the exact extent of the holdings of the latter was supposed to be. Jos. 19: 24-31 appears to be hopelessly corrupt, and no clear idea can be gained from it. V. 26, in its present form, implies that the border extended as far as Carmel westward (whatever that may mean) and reached the mysterious Shihor-libnath. Thence it turned, skirting the valley of Jephthah-el, and reaching a point in the neighborhood of Cabul, the site of which is happily known. On the other hand, it is hard to explain v. 29 f. as meaning anything except that the southwestern border was formed by Achzib (Ez-Zib), Accho (read, with the majority of scholars, **הַכּוֹעַ** instead of **עַמְּהָ**), Aphek, and Rehob. Perhaps we have, as elsewhere in these theoretical divisions of tribal possessions, different, conflicting theories. It is well-known that some of the "tribes" were true ethnic groups, while others were districts. In Jos. 17:11 this is vouched for by the words, "And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher Beth-shean \* \* Ibleam \* \* Dor \* \* Endor \* \* Taanach \* \* Megiddo \* \* ." In several places (e. g. 17:9) it is expressly stated that the boundaries were not hard and fast, but that towns belonging to one tribe were found within the "borders" of another. I am inclined to think that the Kishion of Issachar (Jos. 19:20) is modern Tell Qisān, a splendid mound in the eastern part of the Plain of Accho. We should, at all events, read *Qisōn*, with some MSS.; the name is the same as that of the river, though there is probably no connection between them. In Joshua the name follows Rabbith, probably the same as the cuneiform Rubute, a town near Taanach; in the Tuthmosis list *Qsn* follows an *Adummim*, and precedes Shunem, Misheal (in Asher!), and Achshaph (also in Asher).

A number of these identifications must remain tentative until more evidence comes to light, as will infallibly be the case sooner or later. The identification of Beth Anath with Be'neh, Beth Shemesh with Tell eš-Šem-din, and of Hannathon with el-Harbaj seems extremely probable, and the association of Tell en-Nahl with Nahalol, Tell Qurdāneh with \*Qiṭrōnah,

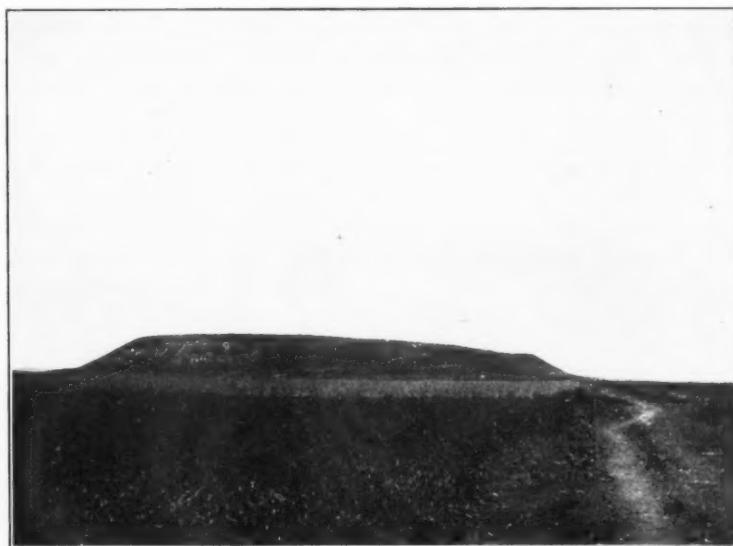


Fig. 11. Tell Qisān (Kishion).

Tell Qisān with Qiṣōn commends itself as at least plausible. Some of the older identifications are philologically absurd, like that of the Beth Dagon in Asher with Tell Da'ūq. The writer has nothing to offer, however. On the other hand it may be suggested that Rehob, an important town in Asher, mentioned a number of times in the Old Testament, in the Egyptian lists (Rhb), as well as in the Taanach correspondence (Raḥabi), is Tell Berweh. The latter is a beautiful mound, six hundred paces in circumference at the top, and 75 feet high; quantities of Graeco-Roman potsherds show that it was occupied down to Roman times, when it was abandoned, as no distinctively Arab pottery could be found. The modern village of Berweh lies about a mile to the northeast. Jos. 19:28 mentions Rehob as one of a line of towns running north from Cabul, modern Kābūl, to Kanah,

modern Qāna, southeast of Tyre. V. 30 places Rehob after Accho (so) and Aphek, in a line of towns running in a southerly direction. We may harmonize the two sets of data perfectly if we suppose that 'Ebrōn (preferable to the alternative form 'Abdon, which is therefore erroneously identified with modern 'Abdeh, quite aside from the topographical difficulty) is



Fig. 12. Tell Berweh (Rehob).

Modern Ša'ib, certainly an ancient settlement, and that Aphek<sup>11</sup> is Tell et-Tanṭūr. The location of Tell Berweh explains fully why Rehob maintained its independence.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the most important Canaanite and Israelite sites in Galilee were in the plains, and hence along the edges of the country. In Roman times Galilee received a great accession of prosperity, which led to the unprecedented development of all districts,

<sup>11</sup> The word *afeq* (also *afiq* is found) means properly "elevation," surviving only as a place-name. Heb. *hit'appeq*, "restrain oneself, compose oneself," means properly "keep oneself in an elevated, dignified mood, buoy oneself up," a sense which is still clear in most of the passages. The opposite is "break down." Ar. *ufq*, "horizon," means properly "firmament." The problem of the different Apheks will be taken up soon in another connection.

especially in the central and eastern part. It would therefore be a mistake to look for early remains of importance under most of the deserted mounds and ruins in Galilee. For example, in the Plain of Asochis there are several ancient mounds, Tell Bedewiyeh, ancient Asochis, Tell Rūmeh, ancient Roma, Hirbet Qāna, ancient Cana,<sup>12</sup> not one of which can be traced to a period before the Christian era. The relative absence of important early mounds from the eastern part of the country naturally increases the interest of the few remaining, such as Tell Qades (Kadesh Naphtali), Tell Harrāwi (Hazor), Tell el-'Oreimeh, Tell eš-Šemdin, etc. But in the Plains of Esdraelon and Accho are vast treasure-houses of ancient remains, still to be tapped, for the most part. Some of the finest tells have not even been identified, as Tell Abū Šūšeh. They are indeed a challenge to stir the pulses of the archaeologist, and excite him to action!

In the fifteen months which have elapsed since the preceding was written, much new material has accumulated, owing especially to the British excavations in the Plain of Acre (el-Harbaj, Tell 'Amr, Tell el-Qassîs). Harbaj is a site of the bronze and early iron ages (mainly the former), so there is no objection to its being identified with Hannathon. Tell 'Amr is an exclusively iron age site, though clearly founded very early in this period, a fact which materially increases the probability that it represents Harosheth, which, if built shortly before the time of the war between Sisera and Israel, would date back to about 1200 B. C.—In a careful examination of Tell Qurdâneh, the writer found evidence of Canaanite occupation, as well as sherds of the early iron age.—For Bêt 'Anat in the Talmud cf. also Klein, ZDPV, 1910, p. 87f.

### *III. The Location of Taricheae*

It may safely be said that the question of the exact site of Taricheae is the most complicated topographical problem in Palestine. Few debates in the whole range of the science of historical geography have raged more hotly, with a greater ebb and flow of opinion. Since the mysterious name Taricheae, "Fish-curing plants," or, in modern parlance, "Fish-canneries," does not occur once in the Bible, the student of the Scriptures may wonder what interest or importance this controversy can have for him. But if he learns that Taricheae was one of the most flourishing cities in

<sup>12</sup> It may be observed that many of the tells given on the Survey maps do not amount to anything at all. Tell el-Wâwiyyât, for example, is absolutely nothing but some low heaps of stone which presumably have been raked up from surrounding fields. Some of these "tells" have not a trace of a mound, and owe their names more or less obviously to transference from a neighboring site.

Galilee in the time of Jesus, situated on the very Sea of Galilee, where so many unforgettable events of His life transpired, the discussion may gain in significance, especially if the likelihood is suggested that Taricheae does appear in the gospels, but under a different name. Even if it should prove to have no direct interest to the New Testament scholar, its role in the Galilee

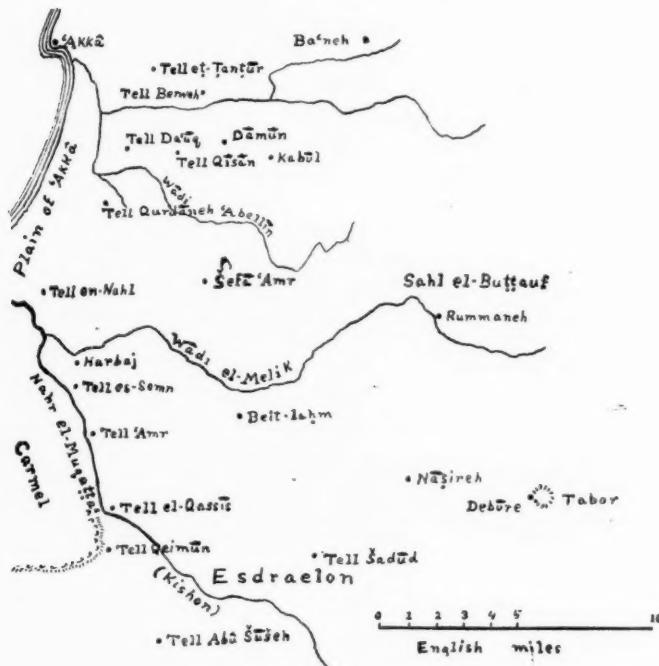


Fig. 13e

laean rebellion, which brought about the downfall of Jewish political power in Palestine, was such as to require that the historian get as clear an idea of its site as possible.

Happily it is unnecessary to add a new theory to those already proposed by others, since almost every site on the western coast of the lake, not pre-occupied by a town like Tiberias or Capernaum, has been claimed for Taricheae. We may now disregard most of these views, which have been found

too defective to merit serious consideration; the attempts to fix the site at Hân Minyeh (Kiepert) and Hirbet Kadiš (De Saulcy) have now only a historical interest. On the other hand, the proposal of Lieutenant Kitchener, then at the outset of his marvelous career, to place the town at Hirbet Quneitriyah (PEFG, 1877, 120 f.), between Tiberias and Mejdel, had certain merits, and did honor to the perspicacity of the young explorer. The contest has been mainly waged between protagonists of the Hirbet Kerak site and supporters of Mejdel. After long remaining in possession of the field, the former found themselves seriously challenged by the latter; for decades the discussion went on, with varying fortunes, until, finally, as if by common consent, an armistice has been declared, leaving Hirbet Kerak in undisputed control, so far as the writer can see. It is, perhaps, an indication of temerity to venture to reopen the tournament, and to throw down the rusty gauntlet once more for Mejdel, but it is done in the conviction that the new archaeological material, combined with a more thorough sifting of the literary evidence, will turn the scales, and definitely overthrow the Hirbet Kerak hypothesis.

The first scientific student of the historical geography of the Holy Land, Edward Robinson, expressed himself, in 1841,<sup>1</sup> in support of Hirbet Kerak, for three reasons. It was south of the lake, in accordance with Pliny, roughly thirty stadia from Tiberias, as stated by Josephus, and was, moreover, the only unoccupied ancient site of importance on the southwestern shore of the lake. In 1880 Guérin came out at length for the same site, though without providing any new arguments.<sup>2</sup>

In 1877 Major (later Sir) Charles Wilson formally recanted the endorsement of the Hirbet Kerak theory which he had published in 1866 in his *Recovery of Jerusalem*, and for the first time advanced the suggestion that Taricheae was located at Mejdel, thirty stadia north of Tiberias, instead of south.<sup>3</sup> In support of his view he pointed out that the plain statements of Josephus can only be reconciled with a site north of Tiberias, since Vespasian is said to have marched from Scythopolis (Beisân) before moving on to attack the rebels in Taricheae. Moreover, Josephus says that Taricheae lay at the foot of a mountain, from which archers were able to shoot arrows into the city—a description which does not fit Kerak at all, but agrees perfectly with the situation of Mejdel. Taricheae was the Greek name of Magdala, modern Mejdel.

The same volume of the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* contained a note by Lieut. Kitchener (cf. above), attempting to fix the site of

<sup>1</sup> *Biblical Researches*, Vol. II, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> *Galilée*, Vol. I, pp. 275-280.

<sup>3</sup> PEFQ, 1877, pp. 10-13.

the ancient city at Ḥirbet Quneiṭriyeh, on a lofty hill just south of the mouth of the Wādi Abū el-‘Amīs, north of Tiberias.<sup>4</sup> His arguments coincided closely with those of Wilson, except that he did not take the distance of thirty stadia given by Josephus seriously. In a second note<sup>5</sup> he squared his theory with Josephus, by suggesting that the citadel only was on the

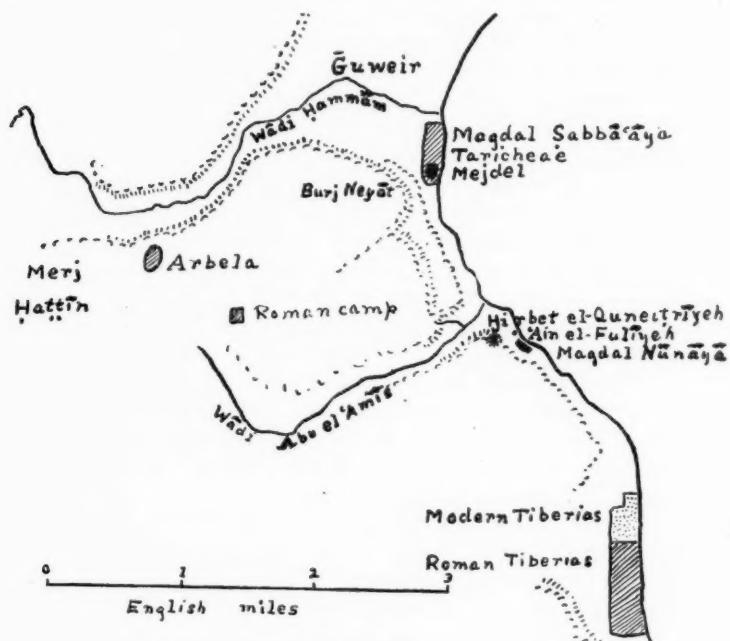


Fig. 14.

hill, while the town lay at its foot, stretched along the shore, "where there are traces of ruins and springs of water." To Conder's objection<sup>6</sup> that Pliny's explicit statement puts Taricheae south of the lake, Kitchener replied that Pliny also places Julias east of the lake, while it is really north.<sup>7</sup>

The debate was terminated, for the time being, by an article from the

<sup>4</sup> PEFQ, 1877, p. 120 f.

<sup>5</sup> PEFQ, 1878, p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> PEFQ, 1877, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> PEFQ, 1878, p. 79.

pen of Major Conder, "Notes on the Position of Taricheae."<sup>8</sup> After a résumé of the arguments, not without a sophist touch here and there, he closes the subject—"definitely."

The very next year, however, the debate began again on a much more elaborate scale in the pages of the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. In a good article,<sup>9</sup> Furrer entered the lists for Mejdel. For the first time, he brings the Talmudic material into the discussion, suggesting that the flourishing Migdal of the Rabbinic period, which had been destroyed "because of the immorality of its population," was the Graeco-Roman Taricheae. However, there is one serious error. Josephus says that Vespasian, after entering Tiberias, pitched his camp between that town and Taricheae, to fight against the revolutionists at Taricheae. Some weeks later, after Taricheae had fallen, we learn that Vespasian removed his camp from the hot springs at Ammaus,<sup>10</sup> to attack Gamala. Like most scholars, Furrer assumed that the camps were identical, and so identified these springs with the lukewarm springs at the mouth of the Wādi 'Ammās (another form of Abū el-'Amīs), just south of Mejdel. This slip of his was clearly pointed out some years later by Dr. Dechent, in a paper on "Heilbäder und Badeleben in Palästina," who showed that one could not reasonably distinguish between the hot springs of Ammaus and the hot springs of Emmatha (Eusebius), Hebrew Hammat, Arab. Hammām, just south of Tiberias.<sup>11</sup>

The following year Spiess printed a paper on the site of Taricheae, in which he gave a good summation of the arguments from Josephus for Mejdel, without, however, considering any of the Talmudic material, or expressing himself on the subject of the hot springs at Ammaus.<sup>12</sup> The next writer, Frei, in an elaborate paper, describing the shores of the sea of Galilee,<sup>13</sup> accepts the conclusions of Spiess very guardedly, at the same time expressing his surprise that there should be no trace left at Mejdel of the old city wall of Taricheae, to say nothing of its buildings.

It was now the turn of the adherents of the Kerak hypothesis, led by Van Kasteren, who defended it very ably in the course of a long article on the Sea of Galilee.<sup>14</sup> However, since his detailed treatment of Josephus demanded frequent rejection of this writer's account, even where it is most

<sup>8</sup> PEFQ, 1878, pp. 190-2.

<sup>9</sup> ZDPV II (1879), pp. 55-57.

<sup>10</sup> With the appearance of Niese's edition of Josephus (Vol. VI, 1894), the impossible reading Αμμαοντς has been given up in favor of Αμμαθοντς.

<sup>11</sup> ZDPV VII (1884), pp. 177-9.

<sup>12</sup> ZDPV VIII (1885), pp. 95-9.

<sup>13</sup> ZDPV IX (1886), pp. 104-8.

<sup>14</sup> ZDPV XI (1888), pp. 215-8, 241-8.

circumstantial, the effect is not altogether favorable. The reply of Furrer, however, while much more satisfactory in its handling of Josephus,<sup>15</sup> hurt his own cause by stressing the impossible identification of Ammaus with 'Ammās or 'Amīs. Moreover, in using the Talmud he made an extraordinary mistake, placing "Hamata" between Tiberias and Magdala, a Sabbath day's journey from each, whereas the passage indicates clearly that Tiberias lay between Magdālā and Hammātā (see below).

Kerak was now defended again by Buhl, who discussed the matter briefly,<sup>16</sup> correcting some previous slips, but, like Van Kasteren, treating Josephus very cavalierly, speaking of his "unglücklichen Bogenschützen auf dem Berge," etc. Furrer's new response was rather weak,<sup>17</sup> resting wholly on the assumption that there were warm springs at the mouth of the Wādi 'Ammās, where he therefore located both the Ammaus or Ammathus (following Niese's correction) of Josephus and the Hammātā of the Talmud. However, he considered himself justified in asserting: "Ich halte die Identification von Tarichea mit Magdala in der Ebene Gennesar für eins der gesichertsten Ergebnisse der historischen Topographie Palästina's." That the conclusion was premature appeared immediately, when Guthe, as editor of the journal, closed the controversy with a short article of his own, in which he ranged himself with Van Kasteren and Schürer in favor of the southern theory. Here he laid the stress upon the fact that Josephus describes the plain as lying before the city, in the direction of the Roman camp placed between Tiberias and Taricheae. Concluding that the plain of Ġuweir, north of Mejdel, is out of consideration, he observed that the only other suitable plain near Tiberias lay farther south, to the northwest of Kerak. Guthe showed, further, that the Ammathus of Josephus could only refer to Hammātā, the hot-springs of Tiberias, south of the city.

The question was still so obscure that when George Adam Smith published his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, in 1894, he left it open, after presenting the evidence in such a way as to imply a tendency to adopt the Kerak hypothesis (pp. 451-5). Two years later, however, Buhl expressed himself again strongly in favor of Kerak.<sup>18</sup>

In 1905 the discussion was reopened by Oehler, in his monograph on *Die Ortschaften und Grenzen Galiläas nach Josephus*.<sup>19</sup> The material from Josephus is now subjected to a most thorough examination, in the light of the entire preceding discussion, and Oehler gives his support unreservedly

<sup>15</sup> ZDPV XII (1889), pp. 145-8.

<sup>16</sup> ZDPV XIII (1890), pp. 38-41.

<sup>17</sup> ZDPV XIII, pp. 194-8.

<sup>18</sup> *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 1896, p. 227 f.

<sup>19</sup> ZDPV XXVIII (1905), pp. 11-20.

to the Mejdel theory, while admitting that it is archaeologically somewhat more difficult than the other. That the matter was not yet settled, however, became clear in 1910, when one of the best authorities on modern Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, came out emphatically for the southern view, stressing the fact that an important ancient city was located at Kerak.<sup>20</sup> However, his treatment is much less critically handled than Oehler's, and makes a decidedly weak impression.

The most recent discussion of this involved subject which the writer has seen is from the pen of no less a master than Dalman (*Pal. Jahrbuch*, 1913, p. 36 f.), who decides in favor of Kerak, basing his verdict partly on the discovery of the fragments of an elaborate stone-pipe aqueduct, which carried the water in Roman days from Wādi Fejjās into Kerak. However, the undoubted existence here of an important city in Roman times does not prove that Kerak was Taricheae, as will be shown in detail below.

After this brief account of the debate which has been carried on for the past two generations over the true site of Taricheae, let us turn to the study of the material, both literary and archaeological. Our sources for the former side are Josephus, Pliny, and the Talmud, for the latter the observations of Dalman, Masterman, and others, supplemented by the results of two trips, in September, 1920, and April, 1921, when the writer was able to utilize the disclosures made most conveniently by the excavations for the new road from Semah to Sāfed. This road has been cut through no less than three shallow ancient mounds, two of the Roman and one of the Arabic period, as demonstrated conclusively by the potsherds.

The classical passage for Taricheae is Josephus, *Wars*, III, ix, 7—x, 5. We learn that Vespasian, after the fall of Joppa, went to Caesarea Philippi, where he remained twenty days. On being informed, however, that Tiberias was on the point of revolution, and that Taricheae had actually revolted (*Τιβερίας μὲν νεωτερίζειν, ἀφεοτάραν δὲ Ταριχέαν*), he sent Titus to bring the army from Caesarea on the coast to Scythopolis, the capital of the Decapolis and Tiberias's neighbor (*γείτων τῆς Τιβερίδος*), a statement which would be incomprehensible if Taricheae were situated between the two cities. Meanwhile he went to Scythopolis himself, and, after his son had arrived, advanced with three legions to a point thirty stadia from Tiberias, called Sennabris (Ennabris is haplography), which might easily be seen by the revolutionaries (*εὐσύνοττον τοῖς νεωτερίζοντις*). There can be no doubt as to the location of Sennabris, since the name, appearing in Aramaic as Sinnabri and in mediaeval Arabic as Sinnabrah,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> PEFQ, 1910, pp. 274-9.

<sup>21</sup> Yāqūt, III, p. 419. The geographer expressly states that it is written with a *kesrah* in the first syllable, which makes it very remarkable that Le Strange should write it with a *fathah*, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 531.

still survives,<sup>22</sup> attached to some ruins on a low hill northwest of Kerak, and now occupied by the Jewish colony of Chinnereth. As a matter of fact, Chinnereth is hidden from the sight of an observer at Tiberias by the intervening hills, but it could easily be seen from the summit of the hills behind Tiberias, as well as by launching out a short distance into the lake. Since Josephus in this passage lays stress on the fact that the revolutionists were in control of the lake, where they had a large fleet of boats, from which they fought the Romans, this fact does not contradict his narrative at all. The suggestion advanced by one or two scholars that the term "revolutionists" (given by the English students, following Whiston, as "innovators") refers to the Taricheans instead of to the men of Tiberias, as the clear sequence of Josephus's narrative indicates, would be a strong argument for the location at Kerak but for two awkward facts. Sennabris is only three or four hundred yards from Kerak, with which it was connected by a wall, the remains of which were still visible in the time of the Survey. There can be no doubt that in Roman times the name Sennabris included both Sinnabrah and Hirbet Kerak. Josephus says (*Wars*, V, viii, 2) that the Jordan Valley extended from Sinnabris (written in the MSS. Ginnabris) as far as the Dead Sea. With this statement we must compare the remark of the Talmud that the Jordan begins at Bēt Yerah; since the Talmud elsewhere distinguishes between the two adjoining villages of Sinnabri and Bēt Yerah, it is evident that by this time the two places had become separate again, and that Bēt Yerah<sup>23</sup> was the name given to Hirbet Kerak by the Aramean inhabitants. The name was thus not in use under the Romans, who joined the two towns with a wall, and constructed a pipe aqueduct to bring water from the springs in Wādi Fejjās. In Arabic times there can be little doubt that the fortress of Sinnabrah was situated on the low plateau between the Jordan and the lake, whose present name, Hirbet el-Kerak, means "Ruin of the fortress." Yāqūt says explicitly (III, 419): Es-sin-nabrah<sup>24</sup> is a place on the Jordan opposite the pass of Afiq (now Hirbet

<sup>22</sup> In the time of the Survey the name appears to have been pronounced *Sinn en-Nabrah*, pointing to an extraordinary popular etymology, "Tooth of the hair-lip," or the like. Now that the hill has been occupied by a *kombāniyeh* (Jewish colony) the name seems to have fallen into disuse. We were unable to find any Arabs who knew it.

<sup>23</sup> The name Bēt Yerah is surely ancient, and probably pre-Israelite, since the latter would hardly have called a town "House of the moon." Another place of the same name is mentioned in the Amarna Letters as being in the neighborhood of Byblos (Bit Arja). A short distance to the south of Bēt Yerah was Beth Shemesh, "House of the sun." It is possible that the town of Chinnereth, whose existence dates back at least to Canaanite days, was located here, or at the Jewish colony which now bears the name, but very improbable, since Jos. 19: 35 f. places it after Hammath and Rakkath (Tiberias) and before Hazor and Kedesh. One thinks immediately of Tell el-'Oreimeh, near Tābgah, where Karge discovered a late Canaanite settlement.

<sup>24</sup> This is the only correct Arabic form; cf. above.

el-'Aqabah, southwest of Fiq), between it and Tiberias, three miles (from the latter). Hence it is absurd to say that the Roman camp at Sennabris might easily be seen by rebels who occupied the very town near which the camp was pitched. However, as Buhl, a supporter of the Kerak hypothesis, frankly admits,<sup>25</sup> the whole tenor of the passage shows clearly that the revolutionists referred to were those in Tiberias.



Fig. 15. Tell el-'Oreimeh.

After spending a night in the provisional camp at Sennabris, Vespasian came to terms with the principal men of Tiberias, and entered the city, breaking down part of the southern wall, to allow the large Roman army to enter without a delay which might be dangerous, in view of the treacherous attitude of the rebels. Meanwhile, the revolutionaries, led by Jesus, fled in haste to Taricheae. Since the way south was completely barred by the Romans, they would be obliged to go by sea—but Josephus says not a word of boats, though he never neglects to mention them when they were employed. Hereupon we are informed that Vespasian advanced (*προελθών*—he had been marching steadily northward) to a point between

<sup>25</sup> ZDPV XIII, p. 39.

Tiberias and Taricheae, where he pitched his camp, fortifying it more strongly (than before), since he expected that there would be a long conflict ( $\piολέμων τριβήν$ ). If he had already spent a night almost under the walls of Taricheae—since the much-lauded plain is here only about half a mile wide at most—considerably less between Chinnereth and the heights—why this sudden solicitude? Josephus knew this country intimately, and it is simply impossible that he should have introduced so many absurdities and contradictions into his account, which is otherwise both circumstantial and reasonable.

If Taricheae lay at Mejdel our narrative now becomes readily intelligible. Vespasian must have pitched his camp on the plateau southwest of Mejdel and east of Irbid-Arbela, since there was no room at the foot of the hills along the shore. Not only was there abundance of room here for the camp and excellent pasture in the adjoining Merj Hatṭin for the horses, but he also was able to command the walls of Taricheae from the lofty hill at the edge of the plateau, called now Burj Neyāt. While the Romans were constructing the walls of the camp, the rebels made a sudden onslaught on them, and escaped before suffering any losses themselves. This would be impossible if they were obliged to land on the shore and march up in full view of the Romans. On the other hand, if they landed at the mouth of the Wādi Abū el-'Amīs and crept up the wādi toward the Roman camp, it would be possible for them to get very close before being observed, and to retreat down the wādi to their boats without fear of a cavalry pursuit, which the steepness of the ground rendered quite impracticable. Meanwhile, Vespasian heard ( $ἀκούων$ ) that a large body of rebels had gathered in the plain before the city of Taricheae ( $ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ$ ) and sent his son, with six hundred horsemen, to disperse them. This detail is the chief card played by the protagonists of Kerak. Of a sudden they become greatly exercised by the preposition "before," though the occurrence of the same preposition in  $προελθών$  (see above) does not disturb them at all, despite its obvious implication. We must remember that, on our theory, Taricheae corresponded to modern Mejdel and the part of the plain lying directly north of it, which is strewn with Roman pottery for hundreds of yards. Since it lay at the southern corner of the Guweir, the latter may easily be said to lie in front of it. Moreover, the Roman cavalry was obliged to come down the gorge of the Wādi Hammām from the Merj Hatṭin, above Arbela. Since there was then a Roman road down the Wādi, while the summit of the cliff was commanded by the Romans, this was very easy. On emerging into the Guweir, moreover, there was an extensive plain actually lying between them and Taricheae. In order to prevent the archers on the city wall from assailing the Roman flank, as the

cavalry attacked the enemy in front of the town, the general sent two thousand archers to hold the mountain opposite the city and to keep a rain of arrows on the walls. The idea expressed by Masterman<sup>20</sup> that "the mountain that was over against the city" (*τὸ ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος*) represents "the lower slopes of the hill known today as *Sinn en-Nabro*",



Fig. 16. Hammām above Arbela.

is simply grotesque to one who has seen the insignificant hill in question. The other defenders of the Kerak theory impugn the veracity of the historian (cf. above for Buhl's comment), but do not venture to make this suggestion, which is really a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole hypothesis. It is very remarkable that no supporter of Mejdel has yet attempted to

<sup>20</sup> PEFQ, 1910, p. 278.

work out a serious plan of the fight. It is little details, like the statement that Vespasian "heard" of the military manoeuvres of the enemy in the plain before the city, which weigh most heavily against Kerak. Moreover, Titus and his followers could not have ridden into Kerak by the lake, which is too deep, with too steep a bank, while at Mejdel the shore shelves very gradually, as anyone who has landed there will remember very distinctly. Since Taricheae had been an unwalled town, Josephus had hastily raised a wall with the small sum of money left after he had fortified Tiberias. The reason for the absence of a sea-wall is evident; he depended upon the fleet of fishing smacks to maintain possession of the sea, overlooking the shallowness of the lake bottom at this point.

It is tacitly assumed by most adherents of the Kerak hypothesis that the camp pitched by Vespasian before Taricheae is identical with the camp at Ammathus, from which he set out to begin operations against Gamala, on the other side of the lake.<sup>27</sup> However, in the intervening three weeks he might easily have changed his camp several times. It is a great mistake to suppose that all these Roman camps were fortified in accordance with the military ideal. In a country like Palestine, moreover, where stakes and logs are virtually unobtainable, and stone is abundant, it would take a very short time for an army to pile up a stone rampart around the camp. Masterman's comparison of the Roman camp at Masada, which was a permanent fortress, is quite irrelevant.<sup>28</sup> Evidently Vespasian removed his camp from the plain above Taricheae to the hot springs of Tiberias, Hammātā-Ammathus, where he gave his army a period of relaxation from the toils of war.

The argument for the Mejdel site from Josephus's story of his flight to Taricheae from Tiberias (*Life*, 59) is too tenuous to merit extended consideration. It is handled as well as possible by Oehler, for Mejdel;<sup>29</sup> Masterman, for Kerak, gives it a very unsatisfactory treatment,<sup>30</sup> which it is hardly worth our while to refute in detail. Oehler has also marshalled a number of passages which seem to favor Mejdel rather than Kerak, but they are all nebulous except one.<sup>31</sup> Tiberias is repeatedly styled a border

<sup>27</sup> Josephus, *Wars*, IV, i, 3.

<sup>28</sup> PEFQ, 1910, p. 278, n. 1.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> PEFQ, 1910, p. 279.

<sup>31</sup> Oehler forgets one episode, which points clearly to the northern site. *Life*, 72, Josephus narrates a retreat from the Romans, during which his horse stumbled and threw him, so that he injured an arm. He was taken at once to the village of Capernaum, but since fever ensued, he was removed the following evening to Taricheae, evidently the nearest large town.

town, on the southeastern boundary of Galilee, or on the borders of the territory of Scythopolis. In *Life*, 9, 65 Josephus alludes to the boundary between Tiberias and Scythopolis, leaving no room for Taricheae. However, the force of this argument is weakened by the fact that only the capitals of districts are considered in such statements; Taricheae, like Sennabris, was not the capital of a district, but belonged to Tiberias. Josephus's statement that Taricheae was thirty stadia from Tiberias agrees with either location, since he in one place says that Sennabris was also thirty stadia from Tiberias. Mejdel is a trifle nearer the probable northern limit of the early Roman Tiberias than Kerak is to the apparent southern limit of the city. Professor McCown has called my attention to the fact, which does not appear to have been noticed hitherto, that with Josephus thirty stadia is the conventional designation for the distance covered in an hour's march, and is thus exactly equivalent to the Perso-Arabic parasang, or *farsah*. So naturally does the historian use the expression in this sense that he even fixes the height of Mount Tabor as thirty stadia, meaning, of course, that it took an hour for the ascent, in strict accordance with the truth. In level terrain, with a good road, thirty stadia would have an entirely different significance from its meaning in rough, mountainous country.

Having disposed of the evidence from Josephus, let us take up Pliny's statement, which our opponents invariably quote as a final, clinching argument. The Roman encyclopaedist says (*Hist. Nat.* V, 15): (*Lacum Genesaram*) *amoenis circumseptum oppidis—ab oriente Juliade et Hippo; a meridie Tarichea, quo nomine aliqui et lacum appellant; ab occidente Tiberiade aquis calidis salubri.* Since Julias (Bethsaida) is due north, and not east, one might feel doubtful about the statement that Taricheae lay south of the lake. One's confidence in Pliny's accuracy in matters Palestinian, already shaken, is quite shattered when one learns that in the following section he places Machaerus also south of the Dead Sea, whereas it is in fact northeast. It is evident that Pliny got his information orally, from Roman officers or travellers in the East, whose memory was not always reliable. One may point out that to an observer in Tell Hüm Mejdel really appears to lie on the southern shore. It is hard to see why Pliny, who never visited Palestine, should be preferred to Josephus, who knew the country thoroughly. It is to be feared that the native egoism and love of exaggeration characteristic of Josephus has blinded many to his real excellences. Nor is it surprising that the historian who has devoted his hours to Caesar and Tacitus, Thucydides and Polybius should find Josephus untrustworthy; the Orientalist will judge him with a different rod.

Our proof is not complete until we consider the implications which

follow the identification of Taricheae with Mejdel. We have already mentioned the fact above, that the fields just north of Mejdel are strewn with Graeco-Roman potsherds. There can be no doubt that there was once an important Roman town there. The surprise expressed by some that, if Taricheae had really lain there, no trace of the walls or buildings should be left, is unnecessary. The stones have long since been removed to be used in the construction of Tiberias, or thrown into the sea to make room for gardens and fields. The writer has noted several cases in Palestine where ruins, still existing in the time of the Survey, have now disappeared to give place to fields, leaving heaps of stones only, to attest the fact that there was once a town there. The absence of a true tell is explained by the ephemeral life of Taricheae, which all but disappears after the Jewish wars. It has also been observed that, since the Talmud mentions the existence of Magdala or Migdal, there is no place for a Taricheae here. Moreover, Taricheae is not mentioned in the Gospels, which would be very strange if it lay so near Capernaum. However, the force of these objections is entirely broken by supposing that Taricheae was the Greek name of Magdala. The Talmud never mentions Aelia, or Eleutheropolis, Diospolis or Diocaesarea, but all these cities are mentioned under their Hebrew or Aramean names. The Gospels never mention Julias, but we find Bethsaida. On the other hand, Josephus always prefers the Greek names; Bethsaida he only mentions once, in recounting the foundation of Julias, a name which he always uses in other passages. *Josephus never once mentions Magdala*, a fact which would be incomprehensible if Magdala were not identical with Taricheae, since the Talmud emphasizes the importance of Magdala in the very age of which we are speaking. We are, therefore, justified in turning to consider the Talmudic evidence for Magdala.

The Talmud (especially *Tal. Yerūš*.) distinguishes between two towns by this name, Magdal Ṣabbā'āyā<sup>32</sup> and Magdal Nūnāyā.<sup>33</sup> The former

<sup>32</sup> That is, "Tower of the Dyers." For the Talmudic material cf. Neubauer, *Géographie*, pp. 216-18.

<sup>33</sup> "Tower of the fishes." This would seem to be a good Aramaic name for Taricheae, but the combination is by no means clear. In this connection it may be observed that we have no reason to assume a fish-curing industry at Ḥirbet Kerak, as is confidently assumed by some. Thus a writer in PEFQ, 1910, p. 276, remarks: "The land a little to the west is known today as *Ard el-Mellāha*, "the salt land," and the Jews have a tradition that this name was due to the fact that their ancestors used to dry and salt fish at this spot. This name and tradition were given me by a very intelligent Jew who had lived four months at a Jewish farm now built on the hill *Sinn en-Nabra* and who had himself never heard of either Josephus or of Taricheae." The uncritical naïveté of this argument is a warning to the student of Palestinian topography that a new type of folklore, based on items of information dropped by the learned traveler, is springing

was the more important, possessing many shops where pigeons were sold, as well as many plants where fine wool was woven. The numbers given are obviously exaggerated, and may be disregarded, like most Talmudic numbers, which are worse than those furnished by the accommodating Josephus. Magdal Ṣabbā'āyā was very wealthy, and sent immense treasure to the temple at Jerusalem, but was, none the less, destroyed for its impiety. These data agree perfectly with the statements of Josephus regarding Taricheae, also a wealthy, but turbulent industrial town, which was also destroyed before the Talmudic period.

Magdal Nūnāyā, on the other hand, was a village, whose distance from Tiberias is once given as a mile, and elsewhere as a Sabbath day's journey, which amounts to the same thing. As is well known, the Sabbath day's journey might, by a kind of ritual fiction, be doubled. This is supposed to be restricted to the case of a circumcision feast, but in practice two towns which were not over two miles apart were permitted to avail themselves of the fiction. When the pilgrim Theodosius (sixth century) says that Magdala was two Roman miles north of Tiberias he is quite correct. Sepp and Van Kasteren have already suggested that Magdal Nūnāyā lay at the ruins near 'Ain el-Fuliyeh, below Ḥirbet Quneīṭriyeh,<sup>34</sup> on which are the ruins of an Arab castle. The ruins in question are Arab, so should be left out of consideration. Just south of the springs, however, the cutting of a road has laid bare on both sides for several hundred feet a section of a Roman village, the existence of which could hardly be suspected from an examination of the surface. The house walls are built of stone and mud, and the rooms are very small, so we unquestionably have to do with a Roman village, as the potsherds prove conclusively.<sup>35</sup>

up in the country, among the Arabs as well as among the Jews. The source of the Jewish laborer's information was naturally scraps of instruction dropped by the heads of the colony, who are much interested in the antiquities of the neighborhood, and naturally know the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, as well as Josephus. The origin of the interesting bit of folklore respecting the *ard el-mellāhāh* may be traced to Guérin, *Galilée*, loc. cit. Naturally, this appellation could theoretically mean "land of the salt-mine," but since the rendering does not fit the situation at all, we had better render "land of the *mellāh* (*mullāh*) plant." At all events it has no topographical importance.

<sup>34</sup> A Bedawi, encamped just above it, gave me the name Tell Eqlātiyah instead of Quneīṭriyeh. Since this name is not, like the latter, appellative, but is evidently a proper name, it would be very interesting to find its source. There can be no doubt about the form, which I had him repeat several times in the course of our conversation. A sailor later gave me the same form.

<sup>35</sup> Anyone who may be in doubt, since the sherds are naturally coarser than those found in earlier Roman sites, as, e. g., at Mejdel, in the lower levels of the Roman Tiberias, need only examine the early Arab sherds which may be extracted in quantities from the Arab mound stretching for several hundred meters south of the hot springs of

From the edge of this village to the southern boundary of modern Tiberias, which roughly coincided with the northern wall of the ancient city, is half an hour's brisk walk, or two miles, as the writer satisfied himself by trial. Before dismissing the question of Magdal Nūnāyā, however, we must consider the statement made repeatedly by Furrer (*loc. cit.*) that the Talmud places Hammātā between Tiberias and Magdala. Furrer employed this datum as an argument for his localization of Hammātā and the Emmaus of Josephus (=Ammaus, or more correctly Ammathus; see above) between Tiberias and Mejdel. Now that the identity of Hammātā with the town at the hot springs of Tiberias has become absolutely certain, Furrer's material, if correct, would force us to place Magdala, that is, Magdal Nūnāyā, south of Tiberias. *A priori* there is perhaps no objection, since the very Talmudic passage in question mentions another Hammātā, at the hot springs of the Yarmuk, below Gadara. But Furrer has misunderstood the passage, which is therefore in perfect agreement with our other archaeological and topographical evidence. The Talmud of Jerusalem, Tractate 'Erūbīn, V. fol. 30, runs as follows:

אנשים עיר גודלה מHALCIN את כל עיר קטנה ואין איש עיר קטנה מHALCIN את כל עיר גודלה: \* \* \* עיר מהו שטעה ממידת אלפיים א'ר חוקיה רבי סימון בשם רבי יוחנן אין עיר עליה ממידת אלפיים א'ר אלעוז עיר עליה ממידת אלפיים בראשונה הי' בני טיבריה מHALCIN את כל חמתה ובני חמתה אין מניעין אלא עיר הכיפה ועכשו בני חמתה ובני טיבריה עיר אחת היא א'ר ירמיה מעשה ברועה אחד וכן שבא ואמר לפניו רבי זבור אני שחיי בני מנדל עולין לחמתה ומHALCIN את כל חמתה וממניעין לחצ'ר החצ'ונה הסוכבה לנשך וההיר רבי שחיי בני מנדל עולין לחמתה ומHALCIN את כל חמתה וממניעין לחצ'ר החצ'ונה עיר הגנשך. —(Mišnah) "The people of a large town may traverse the whole of a small town (whose boundary is not over two thousand cubits from its own limits) but the people of a small town may not traverse the whole of a large town: (Gemārā) What of a city which exceeds the measure of a thousand cubits (from one end to the other)? R. Hezekiah and R. Simon said, on the authority of R. Johanan, No city exceeds the measure of two thousand cubits (if it does, it is outside the scope of the rule). R. Eliezer said, A city may exceed the measure of two thousand cubits. Formerly the people of Tiberias traversed the whole of Hammātā, but the people of Hammātā could only go as far as the rock (in Tiberias).

Tiberias. The cutting of the road from Semāj to Tiberias has demonstrated that the early Arab Tiberias lay farther south than the modern Arab city, to the south of the baths.

Now the people of Hammātā and the people of Tiberias (go where they like in both towns)—it is one city (thus having a total extent of about a mile and a half along the shore). R. Jeremiah said: An (actual) case, of an old shepherd who went and said in the presence of Rabbi, I remember that the people of Magdala went up to Hammātā and traversed the whole of Hammātā, going even as far as the farthest limit near the bridge. Rabbi (then) permitted the people of Magdala to go up to Hammātā and traverse all Hammātā, going to the farthest limit, up to the bridge.” The bridge is naturally the bridge over the little Wādi Quseib, which still must be bridged to allow for traffic. Since there is no wādi between Tiberias and the hot springs, Furrer would have a difficult task explaining the presence of the bridge here. The situation, then, is as follows: The people of Magdal Nūnāyā had a pious fiction, which allowed them to stretch the two thousand cubits, or a Roman mile, the standard Sabbath day's journey, to nearly two miles, in order to visit their neighbors in Tiberias on the Sabbath. Theoretically, however, they could only traverse part of Tiberias. An old custom permitted them to extend their promenade as far as the hot springs, where the élite of Tiberias doubtless strolled on the Sabbath. Despite its irregularity, Rabbi permitted it to continue, in accordance with his general policy not to interfere with established precedent. The people of Magdala thus enjoyed a scope of over three miles in this direction, which was naturally in radical disagreement with the text of the law, which is, of course, precisely the reason why it is introduced into the discussion.<sup>36</sup>

In this paper, we have endeavored to prove the following contentions. Taricheae is not Hirbet Kerak, but is the Greek name of Magdala, the Magdal Sabbathāyā of the Talmud, which included Mejdel and the tract immediately north of it. The Magdala of the Talmud is not the Magdala of the Gospels, but the Magdala of the pilgrim, Theodosius, and the same as Magdal Nūnāyā, whose site is on the shore below Hirbet Quneitriyah or Tell Eqlātiyah. Roman and Arabic Sennabris-Sinnabrah included Hirbet Kerak, but the Aramean population distinguished between Sinnabri and Bēt Yerah, as in the Talmud.

During the fifteen months since this article was prepared, some new material of importance has become accessible to me which partly confirms and

<sup>36</sup> We must remember that Judaism had not yet assumed its later crystallized structure in the third century A.D., to say nothing of the first and second, when the custom in question grew up. The recent exploration of synagogues from this period shows that the representation of living beings, and even of heathen conceptions, in the Jewish synagogue, was still common. The mosaics in the synagogue of Nearah ('Ain Dūq), recently excavated by Vincent, are an excellent illustration of the latitude still prevailing in regard to the application of the oral law.

partly modifies the results reached regarding Taricheae. Dalman has now adopted the identification of Taricheae with Magdala; see Procksch, PJB, 1918, pp. 13-15, and Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, 2nd ed., pp. 114-6, 159 f. Dalman thinks that Taricheae is Magdal Nūnāyā, while Ḥirbet Kerak is Philoteria (see now also Sukenik, JPOS, II, 101-9). The important discussion by Klein in his *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, pp. 76 ff., corrects and modifies some of the views expressed above regarding Magdal Nūnāyā and Magdal Ṣabbā'āyā, for which we may refer to his treatment.

## MUSLIM SHRINES IN PALESTINE

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Saint worship is a feature of religion common to all Mediterranean lands.<sup>1</sup> In Palestine it presents elements of peculiar interest to the student of ancient times.

In the first place, it represents the persistence of ancient and universal impulses. In Christian countries they have ceased to be living and active. A relatively more enlightened theology has gradually strangled them or set them operating in other directions. In Muslim countries, on the contrary, they are at work today, despite the opposition of theological sophistication, and men are now alive whose tombs will eventually become places of worship, pilgrimage, and healing. In such lands, therefore, it is possible to study these features of religion in something like their primitive and elementary forms.

In the second place, as Goldziher has pointed out, "Mohammedan hagiology is of popular origin;" its development has not been influenced by "hierarchical premeditation."<sup>2</sup> This fact gives to its study a fresh item of interest and point of comparison with all religions which, like primitive Christianity, were purely popular developments. As a real religion that practically meets the needs of a large proportion of the Muslim population of Palestine, and not a small part of the Christian, it deserves to be studied in and for itself, not merely for the sake of possible comparisons with older faiths which we would understand by its means, but because of the light it throws on fundamental interests and longings of the human heart and the means which have been spontaneously developed to satisfy them.

In the third place, its study may be expected to throw direct light on some features of ancient Semitic religion and worship. It has been customary to study all Palestine, and particularly the religious rites of its popular sanctuaries, for the purpose of securing illustrations of

<sup>1</sup> It is found, indeed, in all lands under the influence of Roman Catholic and Eastern Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. See *ERE*, art. "Saints and Martyrs." The following abbreviations are used in this paper: *ERE* = Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*; *PJB* = *Palästinajahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem*; *SWP* = *Survey of Western Palestine* published by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

<sup>2</sup> *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle a. S., 1888, 1890), II p. 352.

biblical texts or ceremonies, much as a former age sought in the Old Testament for types and symbols of Christian truth. It cannot for a moment be denied that similarities of a most startling kind may be discovered and that the modern cultus has much light to shed upon the ancient. But it is going too far to say, as did Clermont-Ganneau of the Palestinian shrines, "These *makoms*, as Deuteronomy calls them, which Manasseh rebuilt, and against which the prophets in vain exhausted their invectives, are word for word, thing for thing, the Arabic *makams* whose little white-topped cupolas are dotted so picturesquely over the mountain horizon of Judea."<sup>3</sup>

One cannot even be sure that the names of the most popular shrines are at all decisive as to ancient sites. At this point the earlier Palestinian geographers went much too far, as is now generally recognized. Names have a startling tendency to migrate. The legends, too, that center around this or that shrine usually have no claim to great antiquity.<sup>4</sup>

My own personal interests concerned the first and second of these points more than the third. My object has been to study the part played by the shrines of Muslim saints in the religious life of the people, without any theory as to their relation to ancient Semitic religion. I leave it to others to trace the survivals which may surely in some instances be discovered. My only prepossession was the hope that they would open the door back into the atmosphere of the ancient East. The hope has, I believe, been realized. This excursion into the Semitic field has been of value to me as a student of the Hellenistic world, both because of the intrinsic interest of a study of such intimate and fundamental human emotions and interests as are here revealed, and because the attempt to study and understand them seemed to open such wide vistas into universal human tendencies that were developing with special richness in New Testament times and that are recurring again today with insistent emphasis.

When one steps into a musty and dimly lighted Muslim shrine in Palestine with a simple and unsophisticated *fellâh*, he is essentially transported back into the atmosphere of primitive religion. He is in a world where, as Apuleius said, "Nothing is impossible."<sup>5</sup> There is that naïve world-view that knows nothing about natural law, but sees God and other equally independent and powerful unseen beings at work all about one. There is the same "common-sense" view of things, full of humor and sharpness, coupled with an unquestioning simplicity and credulity that makes self-deception and fraud inevitable. Only in such an atmosphere

<sup>3</sup> *SWP, Special Papers*, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> See for example *SWP, Memoirs III*, p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> *Metamorphoses I*, 20.

can one understand the ancient world. Only in such an atmosphere can one understand many of the cults of healing of our modern civilization.

Limitations of space prevent my presenting more than two or three of the points on which I discovered interesting material.<sup>6</sup>

My first impression in studying the institution *in situ* was the bewildering variety of places which are sacred to the Palestinian peasant. Various

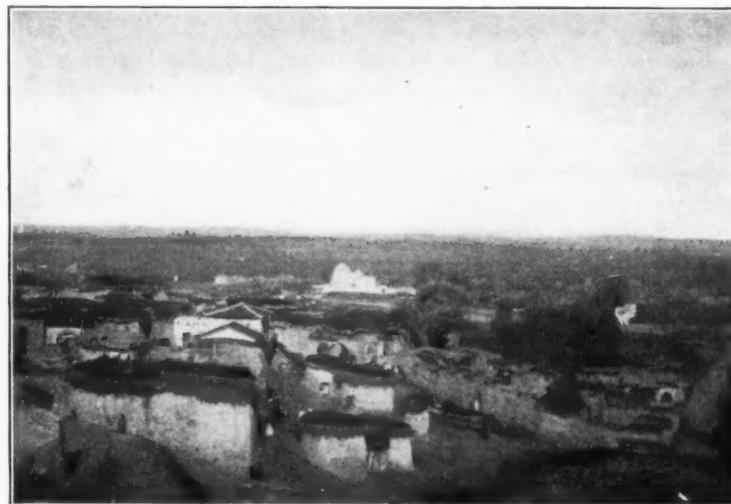


Fig. 1. Kubbi of Sheikh Abu Hureireh.

Arabic terms are used to name the shrine. The word *weli* (plu., *auliya*)

<sup>6</sup> Brief discussions will be found in *ERE* by W. M. Patton, art. "Saints and Martyrs (Muhammadan)," and E. W. G. Masterman, art. "Saints and Martyrs (Syrian)," where the literature of the subject is listed. Three most important articles, to which I owe more than to any others, are omitted: Ignatz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II (1890), pp. 275-378, "Die Heiligenverehrung im Islam;" Edmond Doutté, "Notes sur l'Islam Magribin. Les Marabouts," in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XL (1899), pp. 343-369; XLI (1900), pp. 22-66, 289-336, (also separate, Paris, 1900); see also his *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord* (Algiers, 1909); Paul Kahle, three articles in *PJB*, VI (1910), pp. 63-101; VII (1911), pp. 85-119; VIII (1913), pp. 139-178, by far the most complete and trustworthy account of Palestinian shrines. In addition there is the excellent series of notes by Professor Paton, "Survivals of Primitive Religion in Palestine," in the last number of this *Annual*, pp. 51-65.

stands equally for the saint, who was "near to God"<sup>7</sup> and for his last resting place, and then comes to be applied to any sacred spot. Such a place is a *maḳām*, or sacred "place" (Heb. *maḳōm*), and a *mazār*, or place to be "visited" on pilgrimage. It is often a *kubbi*, or little "dome," whitewashed and crescent-crowned, rising over the small square building which frequently encloses the saint's tomb.

The *kubbi* is a characteristic feature of the Palestinian landscape and is often regarded as the typical Muslim shrine. It may stand by itself at the edge of the village as, for example, the double *kubbi* of Sheikh Abu Hureireh west of Yebna.<sup>8</sup> It may crown a lonely hilltop where once the gods of Greece or Phoenicia were worshipped, as is possibly the case with Sheikh Maṣṣūk near Tyre,<sup>9</sup> or where the Israelites once had a high place, as on Mt. Gerizim. It may stand beside the road, where it catches the hum of telephone wires and the rush of the automobile, like Sheikh Mujīr ed-dīn near Nāblus (Pl. 2), or in the midst of a village with houses, schools, and churches crowding about it, like Sheikh Šihāb ed-dīn at Nazareth, or on a lonely hillside, the last remaining building of a ruined village, like Sheikh ʿAbd es-salām northeast of ʿAnātā (Pl. 3). Sometimes it serves as a village mosque and may be a part of a complex of buildings, with a porch or a room used as a *madāfi*, which is a combination of a town hall and community guestroom. Most often it stands in the city of the dead, with the tombs of lesser mortals crowding near to share its beneficent protection, like the tomb of the famous robber chieftain, Abu Ghōsh, who has given his name to Karyet el-ʿIneb.<sup>10</sup>

The furniture within is of the simplest. Usually there is a tomb, a cenotaph of plastered masonry, generally with a headstone (often wound with a cloth, turbanwise) and a footpiece, symbolizing to modern Muslim piety the two angels which watch over the dead,<sup>11</sup> but originally of phallic significance. Shapes and decorations vary. There may be practically no articles within the room to indicate the reverence done the saint, and the cenotaphs may be plain and bare, as in the shrine of Abu Sall at ʿAin Kārim.<sup>12</sup> As a rule there is a niche (*tāka*) or two in the

<sup>7</sup> Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, II, pp. 286 f. The definition in the *Standard Dictionary* is inadequate.

<sup>8</sup> See fig. 1. The *weli* is in the center of the picture.

<sup>9</sup> Plate 1. See Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (1912), p. 274.

<sup>10</sup> Plate 4. Whether this is really a *weli*, that is whether the people as yet make vows and pray to the former bandit, is uncertain. The illustrations shown in the plates will convey better than any amount of description an idea of the appearance of the typical *kubbi* in the average Palestinian village.

<sup>11</sup> Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 337.

<sup>12</sup> Plate 7. There are here two styles of headpiece, one pointed, the other round, appearing just above the cenotaph in the foreground.

cenotaph, within which is set the burning lamp or incense intended to honor the saint. Many cenotaphs are decorated with cloths, often green in color, and about them are bottles of oil and fragments of pottery or earthenware lamps used to hold charcoal for incense, or oil for lighting (Pl. 5).



Fig. 2. Shrine of Nebi Kabāl near Kaṣṭal Ṣaffūriyeh.

Many shrines are decorated with henna, sometimes with mere daubs, sometimes with dots made with three fingers, sometimes with the print of the whole hand, sometimes with painted designs of triangles, or "palms," or some other symbol of life and happiness.<sup>13</sup> These may be on the door or on the wall about the *mihrāb* or prayer-niche, as for example, at Abu Sall in 'Ain Kārim<sup>14</sup>, where these daubs were the only decorations visible on my visit.

A typical *kubbi* stands alone on a hillside to the northwest of Kaṣṭal Ṣaffūriyeh, some four miles from Nazareth. Nebi Kabāl, or Kābil—each pronunciation was given me by people in the neighborhood—is a

<sup>13</sup> Plate 6. Sheikh Sāmet at Ṣar'a. The tomb is outside. See Kahle, *PJB*, VIII, pp. 141 f.

<sup>14</sup> Plate 8. Contrast its condition when Kahle saw it, *loc. cit.*

crecent-crowned *kubbi* standing a little to the west of the road to Saffūriyeh, with a small enclosure before its door, which opens to the west. Here grew a number of small trees which I took to be pistachio (Fig. 2). Each wall is a closed arch. There is no *mihrāb*. Instead, inside under the southern arch, against the wall, there are two plastered benches of

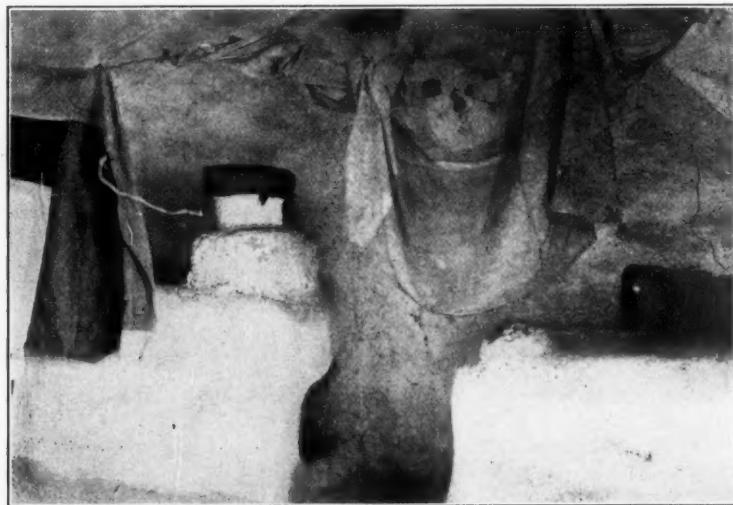


Fig. 3. Interior of Shrine of Nebi Kabāl.

masonry, the eastern one of them—evidently the tomb—with round headpiece wound with a “turban” and having under it a niche, in which was the bottom of a jar containing charcoal, apparently for burning incense (Fig. 3). On the other bench, which had neither headpiece nor niche, were a couple of pieces of the Koran, in which certain pages were outlined in colors. In front of these benches were suspended two banners by means of a string stretching from the eastern to the western wall. That in front of the tomb was made of a large strip of dirty white cloth, to which a red square had been attached. On the red at the western end a white piece with a considerable inscription in Arabic, written with a lead pencil, had been sewed on. Next this was a short green strip, and on the lower edge of the red a saffron strip had been added. The other banner was made of several strips of dirty white, pieced together,

to which again had been sewn patches of red, green, bright pink, pale pink, and white, in a sort of design. The original did not suggest to me so close a resemblance to a face as does the photograph, but may have been made with that in mind. Just south of the door is a small window, where lamps or candles are burned. The soot on the arch above bore mute

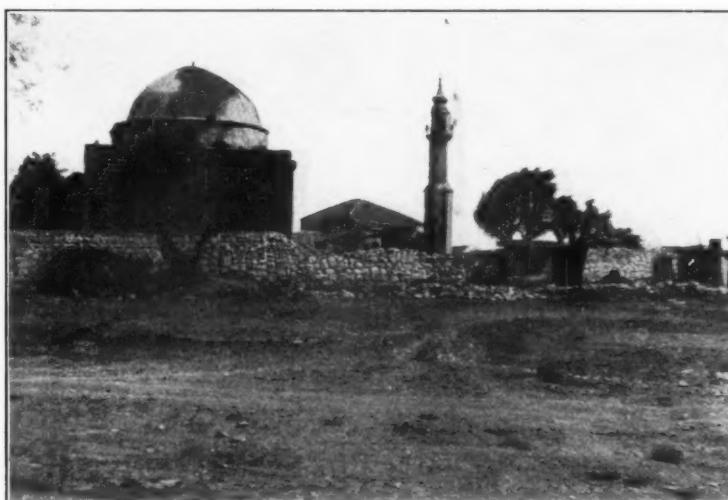


Fig. 4. Shrine of Nebi Kimer at Jerusalem.

witness to the zeal of many worshippers. Inside on a bracket was a small lamp made of tin, in imitation of the open earthenware lamp. It contained partly consumed charcoal, as did also the bottom of a pot in the window. Across the opposite corner there was laid a bamboo pole to which was tied a small bit of rag. On the bench below the window there were two bottles for oil. Such was the furniture of this shrine.

Often a *kubbi* covers several tombs, supposed to be those of the members of a certain family. Such is the case at 'Ain Kārim, where the sons of Abu Sall have filled the little room and spilled over into the court without.<sup>15</sup> Likewise the somewhat larger building sacred to Nebi Kimer at Jerusalem constitutes practically a family mausoleum.<sup>16</sup> The most

<sup>15</sup> Plate 9; see also the interior, Plate 7.

<sup>16</sup> Fig. 4. Sheikh 'Ulkāsī lies alone in the small building with the minaret.

imposing example of this class of shrines is the famous *Haram* at Hebron, which shelters three pairs of tombs, those of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah, not all, however, under one roof. Many other varieties of *kubbi*, differing as to shape, size, location, and interior and exterior arrangement, are to be found. These will serve to illustrate their usual character, within and without.



Fig. 5. Shrine of Nebī Masūd at Birkein.

Though the *kubbi* is perhaps rightly regarded as the typical Muslim shrine, it is far from being the only kind. Indeed, although I have attempted no statistics, I am inclined to believe that the larger proportion of the places revered by the people have no *kubbi* above them.

First, there is a large number of cenotaphs which stand without roof or protection, but are as truly shrines as those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the great mosque at Hebron. Such are the long, low tombs of Sheikhs Šaddād ibn Aus and ‘Obāda ibn es-Sāmet outside the eastern wall of the *Haram* at Jerusalem,<sup>17</sup> and Sheikh ‘Ali by the roadside in Beisān without enclosure of any kind (Pl. 10), and Nebī Masūd in the

<sup>17</sup> Plates 11 and 12. Note the wooden *kandil* on the wall above each.

cemetery at Birkein.<sup>18</sup> Beduin shrines are usually of this type, as, for example, that of Sheikh Misyif in the Wādi en-Nār on the way from Jerusalem to Mār Sāba.<sup>19</sup>

As illustrative of the popular idea of the *welī*, it is interesting to observe the answers given when one asks in a Muslim village from children or chance bystanders for the shrines of the vicinity. At Nazareth in the Muslim cemetery near the fountain of the Virgin I was shown a fine new marble structure, and then the half-underground vault sacred to *el-Arba'īn*. Later I discovered on the map Sheikh Sīhāb ed-dīn and Nebī Sa'īn. As I approached Saifūriyeh, I asked some men returning from plowing where the shrines of their village could be found. They pointed to the cemetery we were passing and said there were hundreds there. Evidently to them any tomb was a *welī*, and it certainly is true that any tomb may become a *welī*, just as any boy born in the United States may become president, for *post mortem* events may prove a man or a woman to have been a saint. In popular Muslim theology it is some connection with a saint that constitutes a place a shrine.

There are, however, innumerable sacred places which never were tombs and do not have the remotest connection with saints, though often a name is given which brings them superficially within the pale of orthodoxy. Three villages near Jerusalem will illustrate, though incompletely, the variety of places which the peasant includes under the term *welī* and the part they play in his religious life.

I visited Sobā on November 27, 1920, with Mr. E. N. Haddad of the Syrian Protestant Orphanage. It was my first excursion made specifically for the purpose of gathering information about the *welī*. We left the Jaffa road just before we came to Kaṣṭal and took a path through the fields. After we had gone some distance we came upon an olive tree, one half of which was gone, leaving a cleft in the lower part of the trunk which had been filled with stones. There were fresh marks of the ax around this cleft, as if pieces had been trimmed off. On my noting its rather peculiar appearance, Mr. Haddad called a shepherd who was above us on the hillside. He assured us the tree was a *welī* tree, but could tell us nothing about it.

When we reached the village we went to the house of the *muhtār*. Here we came upon four men, three of whom proved to be from 'Ain Kārim. Mr. Haddad began questioning them and obtained some interesting information, to which I will refer later, regarding the beliefs and rites connected

<sup>18</sup> Fig. 5. The *welī* is within the rough enclosure marked by the palm.

<sup>19</sup> Plate 16. The *welī* is the one conspicuous cenotaph amid rude ovals which mark the tombs of lesser mortals.

with the shrines. However, they did not stay long and the *muhtār* proved to be either dull or uncommunicative. Yet he had some of the men and boys of the village show us four places which they called *auliya* (shrines).

The tomb of Sheikh Muṣṭafa is on the hillside to the north of the village. No tomb is visible, but on one side there is a wall and above it a sort of terrace, the whole overgrown with trees and shrubbery, amid which are various bits of broken pottery used as lamps or for incense to be burned in honor of the sheikh.<sup>20</sup> On the opposite side of the town, on the level, just beyond a long underground vault used as an oil press, is a small walled enclosure, with an oak tree growing in the center and a *mihrab* in the south wall. This was the *weli* of Sheikh Ibrāhīm. Here also no tomb is to be seen.

At the other two shrines in the village there is not even a pretense of there being a burial place. The *weli* of the "Forty Martyrs" (*el-arba'in šahīd*) is a small, half-underground room on the hillside, among the hovels of the village. On one side the hill makes a wall, on the other is the dooryard of a house. The roof is level with the floor of the house above. What remained of the entrance, abutting on one of the village alleyways, had been walled up to keep the chickens out, so we were told. They said there was nothing inside. The fourth *weli* was called the "reformers (or "pious ones") of the gate" (*sullāh el-bāb*). It was merely an angle where a short piece of ruined wall joined another. The lowest course of masonry was probably the remains of one of the Crusaders' buildings; above, other courses had been piled by later hands using some of the stones from Crusading times. At this corner there was a considerable whitewashed spot where it was customary to offer sacrifice to the *weli* (Pl. 13).

When we inquired about the olive tree we had seen by the pathway, we found it had a name, Sheikh el-*Amorī*, but that it was of doubtful sanctity. The *muhtār* said that poor people who were in straits for fuel had not hesitated to cut wood from the tree.<sup>21</sup> The village mosque, which stands on the highest part of the hill where the Crusaders' church once stood, looked almost deserted. It was not named with the other shrines.

The village of Nebī Samwil, which I visited with Dr. Albright, will serve as another illustration of the faith of the ordinary peasant. In it is the great place of pilgrimage, the reputed tomb of Samuel, revered alike by Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and annually visited by many tourists. To the people of the village it serves as a mosque and is a great *weli*, but there are others. Some boys who acted as our guides showed

<sup>20</sup> Plate 15. The man stands in the center of the sacred spot.

<sup>21</sup> Plate 14. The picture was taken in a rain.

us one a few yards east of the mosque. It was a cave or underground tomb, at the time we saw the place, in March, full of water almost to the top, so that nothing could be seen. The boys said the *weli* was Sheikh 'Abdallāh and that he was buried with Nebī Samwil under the mosque. The *imām* (attendant) who showed us about the mosque said there were



Fig. 6. Shrine of Sheikh Ahmad near Nebi Samwil.

other tombs below besides that of Samwil, but he did not know whose they were. Outside the village, to the southeast, we were shown another *weli*, that of Sheikh Ahmad, Ihmid, so our small guide insisted on calling it. It was a low, half-underground building that looked like an abandoned mill or oil press. The low, arched entrance, which had broken down, had been repaired by supporting it on branches of trees, the repairs having been carried out as result of a vow made by a man with a broken arm, which had mended rapidly thereafter. We doubted the wisdom of the *weli* in rewarding such work. Inside, so the boy told us, the old men said the grave of the sheikh was to be found, but the boys of the village, like himself, said there was no grave there. On a little plot of ground by the *weli* grew almond, pistachio, and fig trees, one or two of each, the fruit of which was enjoyed by the poor (Fig. 6).

At Biddu, again, we found a variety of sanctuaries. The first one to which

we were led was the mosque, broken down by a shell during the war, so that only the southern part with the *mihrāb* was standing. There was not even a wall in front of it to keep the animals of the village from wandering in and desecrating the sacred spot. The people of the village were much distressed over the situation and had petitioned the government for part



Fig. 7. Shrine of 'Ali et-Talalî at Biddû.

of the income of the *wakf*, or religious foundations, belonging to the village, in order that they might make repairs. The *muhtâr* pulled from his belt a much worn paper which contained a reply to their petition, saying that the whole matter of the use of the *wakf* was being considered and would be settled later. The letter was fifteen months old. By way of irony the name of the mosque was *Abu-l-‘Aun*, "Father of Divine Help."

In response to our inquiry the *muhtâr* told us there was no other *welî* in the village. Fortunately Mr. Haddad had not long before met a man from that village and had learned the names of five. When we began to inquire for them by name, the theological scruples of the *muhtâr* gave way and he led us to the others. One was sacred to the "Forty Champions" (*rijâl el-arba‘în [el] muğâzî*) (?). It lay on a gentle slope, in a little grove of pistachio, olive, and oak trees, the fruit of which the poor were allowed to eat. The shrine was a cave entered by a flight of six or eight

steep, stone steps. One *weli*, Sheikh Hamdallāh, by some oversight we missed seeing. Sheikh Hawīs was an ancient, rock-cut tomb, reached by a vertical shaft four or five feet deep, opening upon a doorway cut in the rock. At the bottom of the shaft by the doorpost stood a vessel or two in which oil had been burnt. The tomb was full of water up to the doorsill. The fifth *weli* was that of 'Alī et-Talalī. It was a considerable rectangle of large, undressed stone blocks standing southwest of the village. The north side had a peculiar concave curve in the wall. Above, on the earthen platform, were two or three trees and a depressed spot which the villagers said was the grave of the Sheikh. Some said great treasures were buried there (Fig. 7).

At Kaukab in Galilee, southeast of Kābul, we were told there were three shrines in the neighborhood, that of Abu-l-Heije marked by its two white domes on the hill east of the village; that of Sheikh Sa'īd in the village itself, both with the graves of the respective saints, and a cave (*muğeir*) on Mt. Deidebeh where forty prophets once lived. Just outside the village, as we were leaving in the morning for Kābul, we came upon a fine, solitary oak (*ballūt*) that seemed to be singled out by walls built around it. I asked a boy who chanced to be there, "What is this, this tree, this oak?" "The Persian" (*el-ṣājamī*), he replied. Surely, as Dr. Albright pointed out at the time, he may be supposed to have considered the tree itself the Persian sheikh who was there honored. No tomb was in evidence.

Various kinds of shrines, then, emerge in addition to the saint's tomb. There is the ancient rock-cut tomb, the cave, the ruin, the old or disused building, the single tree, and the grove. As to ruins, it would seem as if they were peculiarly likely to be sacred to the "forty," yet that might be an erroneous conclusion based upon imperfect induction. Ruins with that title I found at Sobā, as already stated, at Hebron in the monastery on the hill opposite the town, near Seilūn on the way toward Turmus 'Aiyā, and at Nazareth in the cemetery just in front of the Greek monastery, and there is, besides, the famous tower of Ramleh. However, the "Arba'in" have no monopoly of ruins, as Sullāh el-Bāb at Sobā and 'Alī et-Talalī at Biddū prove, nor are they confined to ruins, as the cave in Jebel ed-Deidebeh, just mentioned, and numerous groves sacred to the "forty" show.<sup>22</sup>

The sacred grove is one of the striking sanctuaries in modern Palestine. To the westerner it makes a peculiar appeal, first, perhaps, because these rare spots of quiet green shade on the barren hillsides seem particularly fitted to be places of worship, and second, because it takes us back at once to the ancient groves of the Hebrews and their Semitic brethren. Tell

<sup>22</sup> This group requires special treatment.

‘Aşûr is an excellent example of a sacred grove combined with a high place. There are two groves on this height, the loftiest point between Safed and Hebron. The grove to the north was the larger and more beautiful, and the abundance of spring flowers growing there in April was a delight. There was nothing, however, to indicate that it was



Fig. 8. Sacred Oak Trees at Tell ‘Aşur.

sacred, except the fact that it had been preserved, although trenches and other relies of the recent war were to be found all about it. At the other, smaller grove, a little way down on the southern slope of the broad top of the mountain, a stone wall around the oak trees and a smaller enclosure at one particular spot gave plain evidence that some special reverence was felt for the place. This was confirmed by the testimony of the lone peasant we found on the top of the mountain, who pointed this out as the sacred place. He told us that it was the *makâm el‘Awâṣîr*, using thus a plural of ‘Aşûr. Unfortunately he was extremely uncommunicative, and we never learned who he thought the ‘Awâṣîr were. There was no evidence that any vow had been paid at their shrine for many months, no rags tied to the branches, such as Kahle saw,<sup>23</sup> no earthenware lamps, not even any

<sup>23</sup> *PJB*, VI, p. 99.

oily or smoked fragments of pottery. One might say that it was a deserted shrine, but still possessed sufficient sanctity to protect it from destruction or invasion, even in war times.<sup>24</sup>

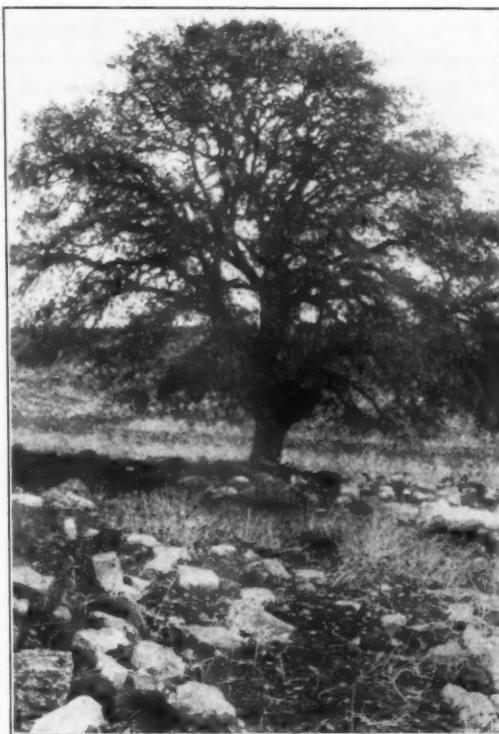


Fig. 9. Saered Tree near Grave of Sheikh Hamdan el-Khaladiyeh near Khân-et-Tuggâr.

Near Kafr 'Akâb is a group of oak trees which goes by the name *mubârakât*, or *imbârakât*, pronounced practically with the elision of the *i* (Pl. 17). In the midst of the little grove is a cave called *mağârat šâha* ("cave of the female Sheikh"). Within there was no sign of a tomb. It is merely a small room, possibly an ancient tomb, cut out of the rock.

<sup>24</sup> Fig. 8. The shrine is under the tree and is marked by a heap of stones.

We could learn no other name. The worship seemed to consist of burning lamps and candles in the cave.

Numerous single trees are revered. One was pointed out to me near 'Ain Yebrûd, at the fork of the *wâdî* which runs northeast from Dûrah. To it rags are tied to secure the blessing of the spirit there worshipped. It also goes by the name *mbârakât*. Mr. Bailey of Ramallah, who took me there, said it was proverbial in that region that any one in ragged clothing was "as raggad as the *mbârakât*." When I was there in February but a single small rag was festooned to one of the lower branches. In April the same rag was still there in solitary sanctity.<sup>25</sup>

The status of trees is seen, not only in those which stand by themselves, but also in the fact that they are a very frequent accompanying feature of the tomb shrine. An oak (*ballût*), or terebinth (*buṭm*), a mulberry (*tût*), a carob (*harrûb*), a thorn (*sidr*), a palm (*nahâl*), is frequently found growing in the court of the *kubbî*<sup>26</sup> or shading an uncovered cenotaph or even a mere rude oval of stones that marks the last resting place of a saint.<sup>27</sup> Aside from the olive, which is sacred in its own right by reason of its economic value, it is almost safe to say that any lone tree or grove one sees in Palestine marks a sacred spot. Only the taboo of sanctity has been able to save them during the rule of the Turks, under whose mismanagement "trees do not grow." Trees are not sacred in themselves as a rule, but they lend sanctity to a spot and are rare outside of sacred places in the inhabited parts of the mountain country.

Three other kinds of sanctuaries remain to be considered, springs, stones, and mountain tops. A large proportion of the more important springs in Palestine are regarded as "inhabited" by some good or evil spirit.<sup>28</sup> But such springs, though often feared, are not worshipped. A considerable number, however, usually regarded as medicinal, are honored with much the same rites as saints' shrines. Such are 'Ain Sittî Miryam, 'Ain Silwân, and Bir 'Aiyûb at Jerusalem and many more.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Plate 18. The sacred tree is the old, broken one to the right. Prof. Paton (*Annual*, I, pp. 61 f.) mentions a tree near Jifna which he calls *Um Barakât*, "Mother of Blessings." This may be the same tree. In any case I understood the language usage not to be as he has taken it, but that the expression is a feminine participle, "the blessed ladies."

<sup>26</sup> See figs. 2 and 5, plates 2 and 15.

<sup>27</sup> For the former see plate 19, Sheikh el-'Ajamî just north of Mejdel on the Sea of Galilee, and plate 10, Sheikh 'Ali at Beisan, for the latter, Fig. 9, Sheikh Hamdân el-Khaladiyeh near Khân et-Tujjâr. On sacred trees and groves see Kahle, *PJB*, VI, pp. 97-100, Paton, *Annual*, I, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 16 f., and the article, "Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine," *Journal Palestine Oriental Society*, I (1920-21), pp. 153-170.

<sup>29</sup> See Kahle, *PJB*, VI, pp. 93-97, and Paton, *Annual*, I, pp. 55 ff.

Sacred stones are of the greatest variety, from the "Holy Rock" under the great dome in the Temple area at Jerusalem to stumps of pillars against which sick people rub their backs in lesser shrines. Some of them suggest the ancient *maṣṣēbhōth*. This class of sacred place, like the spring, I must pass over with a bare mention.<sup>30</sup>

As still another class of shrines Professor Paton lists the mountain top. He instances two such shrines, Sheikh 'Abdallāh on a high hill, a day's journey south of Damascus, and Nebi ed-Dāhī on Jebel Dāhī, or "Little Hermon," regarding both of which he relates interesting rites.<sup>31</sup> It is certainly true that one sees many a shrine on mountain tops, and the white *kubbi* is a most striking feature of the landscape of Palestine. Particularly is this true in central Palestine from Nebi Samwil as far north as Sebastiēh. One is especially impressed by the white domes, often accompanied by a single green tree, which one sees on both sides of Nāblus. One must not forget Nebi Dōtān on Tell Dōtān, Nebi Sa'īn on the hill back of Nazareth, though now both are ruined, nor el-Hadr on the top of Tell es-Sāfi, nor Sheikh Ahmad el-'Arīni at 'Arāk el-Menšiyeh, nor the Šajarāt el-'Awāṣir on the top of Jebel 'Aṣūr, nor the Šajarāt el-Arba'īn and the Mahraka on Carmel. On the top of Gerizim, beside the place of the Samaritan Passover, is Sheikh Ganīm and on Ebal are Sittī es-Salēmīyeh and 'Amād ed-din. These are but a few out of many mountain-top shrines.

Professor Curtiss also speaks of "the sacred character of mountain tops," and in evidence mentions Mt. Hermon, where, "near the highest summit, are remains of more than one temple, as well as of small bones and ashes which lie on a bed of gravel around the ruins on the east side for more than one hundred feet and in some places, for a depth of more than a foot and a half," Mt. Gerizim with its ruins and Samaritan Passover, and Mt. Sinai and Mt. Serbal, where "sacrifices are still offered, according to the testimony of travelers."<sup>32</sup> Professor Paton goes so far as to say that "the majority of the alleged tombs of saints in modern Palestine are situated on the summits of high hills."<sup>33</sup>

This statement is hardly correct. A very considerable number of shrines are on hilltops because the cities or villages to which they belong sought such sites, not because the hill is sacred, and, on the other side, there is that vast number of shrines, several to every good-sized town, which are not easily seen because they are not on hilltops. Such is Jerusalem.

<sup>30</sup> See Kahle, *PJB*, VI, pp. 90-94, Paton, *Annual*, I, p. 64, Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*, pp. 84-88.

<sup>31</sup> *Annual*, I, pp. 62 f.

<sup>32</sup> *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*, p. 142.

<sup>33</sup> *Annual*, I, p. 62.

Hebron itself is a sufficient refutation of Professor Paton's statement. Aside from the famous *Haram* with its various tombs, the cemetery in the valley and on the lower slopes of the hill to the west of the city has a whole nest of shrines. Only the Dēr el-Arba'īn is on a hilltop, and that not because the hill is sacred, but because the Christians chose a hill for the site of a monastery.



Fig. 10. Mosque of el-Halil at Ramallah.

Professor Curtiss likewise is in error in saying that "the sacred character of mountain tops is evident," unless, on the basis of what has been reported above, one can speak of 'the sacred character of stones.' Only certain stones, because of peculiar uses or associations, are holy. Likewise only certain mountains are holy, and that, so far as the evidence adduced goes, may be because of a saint's tomb placed there. Whether some, however, were originally sacred in themselves, is a question for further investigation. Why they are so and also why worship is offered in the other shrines, can not be considered here.

Of the multitude of interesting rites that center about Palestinian shrines I will discuss but two, the use of lamps and the building of "heaps of witness." The lighting of lamps before it is one of the characteristic marks of the shrine. Judging from the concrete evidences at the various

*makāms* I visited, I should say that it is the most common sort of vow. In almost every popular shrine one finds glass or earthen bottles with olive oil in them, left by some pious individual who, no doubt, expects others to use it in the lamps there found. The majority of cenotaphs are fitted with a niche (*tāka*) in which the lamps may be placed,<sup>34</sup> and thus slightly sheltered from the wind. One might suppose also that the faith of the worshipper would be better satisfied because of the close physical contact thus secured, but I have no evidence on this point, except that the niche is used also for the deposit of offerings or articles brought to the *makām* for safekeeping. Often niches or windows in the walls of the surrounding enclosure or *kubbi* may be used for the same purpose. In some instances there are chandeliers, or a lantern (*kandil*) is hung in the room, or above the tomb. In the mosque of el-Halil, which is kept up by the Christians of Ramallah, the lamps are simply placed on the floor by the *mihrab*, great numbers of them being piled up all about it (Fig. 10). At no other shrine have I seen so many.

Evidently the ordinary worshipper is not at all fastidious as to the kind of lamp that must be burned. Yet it is an interesting and possibly significant fact that the kinds one usually finds are very closely patterned after the ancient models. The most common form is that of the oval open bowl which has simply been pinched together a little at one end to make a holder for the wick. Such I found at Ramallah in great numbers, at Sheikh Sālih near Mezra eš-Šarkiyeh, and in the shrine of el-Ḥaḍr at et-Taiyibeh. Occasionally one finds tin lamps with crimped edges fashioned in imitation of these ancient clay models. The illustration (Pl. 20) shows an ancient lamp, probably pre-Israelite, side by side with the three above mentioned. Occasionally one may find a slightly more ambitious model of the covered kind so common in the Hellenistic and Byzantine period. The illustration shows one such, taken from the half-underground vault sacred to el-Arbaīn at Nazareth—it was the only lamp there—side by side with two ancient lamps of the period just mentioned. The general resemblance is clear. The main difference is in the greater attempt at decoration in the older lamps.

Two possible reasons might be assigned for this interesting resemblance. Either the ancient form preserved in the modern rite is another instance of that conservatism which leads religion so often to adhere to the old, or the simplicity of the ancient form and its consequent cheapness cause it to be chosen.

<sup>34</sup> Kahle, *PJB*, VII, p. 86. Kahle was informed in the neighborhood of Tyre that oil was not brought as an offering to the *welt*. The attendant bought kerosene and used it in the lamps; *PJB*, VIII, p. 140. See niches in cenotaphs in Fig. 3 and Pl. 5.

There are certain ceremonies extremely difficult to classify. They are intended to honor the saint, like the others, but there seem to be other ideas also present, in which the desire to leave ocular evidence of the honor done is perhaps the prevailing one. This idea also enters into the use of henna, the burning of candles or lamps, the sprinkling of the blood of sacrifice on some part of the shrine, and the presentation even of other gifts. But in these cases it may or may not be the chief motive. In some it stands first. One such is found in the "heaps of witness."

An interesting feature of saint-worship in Palestine is found in these little piles of stones set up where the traveler or pilgrim comes in sight of a famous shrine. They are exactly like the heaps that mark the boundaries of fields, a large stone at the bottom, with three or four more, gradually decreasing in size, piled upon it. One can distinguish the two kinds of heaps only by the fact that the landmarks follow more or less orderly lines, while the others appear in bunches. On the way from Bethelehem to Hebron, as one rounds the last hill before coming in sight of el-Hadr, he sees many such on the rocky slope, just where the eye of the pilgrim would first catch sight of the famous shrine. Similar heaps are near Hausān by the "Roman Road" that leads from the west towards el-Hadr, but they may have been in honor of some other shrine. When I saw them, I had not yet caught sight of it (Pl. 21). On the way from Beit Taṣāmir to Bethlehem, as the path crosses a hill, they are to be seen on the walls of rocks that border the road. A passerby said they were put up by travelers from Beit Taṣāmir, who there first caught sight of Mär Elyās in the far distance on the way to Jerusalem, and by those from the opposite direction, who at that point first saw the little *kubbi* of 'Omar ibn Ḥatṭāb in Beit Taṣāmir. On the hilltop on the way from et-Taiyibeh to 'Ain Yebrūd I came upon similar evidences of piety. Later I learned they were for Sheikh 'Abdallāh, whose *kubbi* crowns the height opposite, southwest of 'Ain Yebrūd (Pl. 22). On the brow of the hill as one comes southward up from Dūrah, late one evening, I came upon a great number of such little pillars of stone. At first I supposed they were for Beitin (Bethel), but later I learned that Beitin is not now sacred to anyone. Its only *weli* was destroyed during the war. No doubt they were for Sheikh 'Abdallāh, which must have been in sight by daylight. At et-Taiyibeh I found similar piles of stones, fragments from the ruin laid one upon another, in the choir of one of the ruined churches of St. George, or el-Hadr.

These little heaps of stones are variously named. My Muslim *mukāri* from el-Bireh used the word *'akd* ("arch"), and said that when they got up in the morning they built them and said, "I have built this house (*'akkadī hādā'l-beit*) because I witness that God is great and Mohammed

the prophet of God." Near Hausān a passerby said they meant, "God is great" (*allāhu ākbar*). This is evident theological reinterpretation.

A Greek boy in the Friends' School at Ramallah called them *kanātir* (sing., *kanṭarah*), "arches," the name often given to the landmark. He said it was customary to say to the *welī*, "I build you this arch (*abni hādī'l-kanṭarah leik*) if you will do so-and-so for me."

A group of 'Ain Kārim Muslims said that every person who passes a *welī* "reads the *Fāthā* and many build standards (*nowāṣib*, sing., *naṣib*). When they build the standards, they say to the saint, 'I witness for you today, and do you witness for me on the day of resurrection.'" <sup>35</sup> This idea of witnessing leads to the appellation *śāhid* (plu., *śawāhid*), which seems to be a most common one.<sup>36</sup> Masterman uses *mašhad*, a word which comes from the same root *ś-h-d* and also means shrine. He says it is raised as a witness that a vow has been made.<sup>37</sup> Jaussen says they are "témoignage d'une invocation ou d'une visite accomplie."<sup>38</sup>

The conversation Professor Curtiss reports on the subject is, unfortunately, inconclusive as to the idea behind the custom. When discussing the matter of visits to the rather inaccessible shrine of Aaron on Mt. Hor, Musa, an Arab guide, was asked, "Do they vow they will give the Prophet anything in case of recovery?" He answered, "Yes; it is not necessary that they should go to the top of the mountain to make a vow. They may pile up a heap of stones anywhere in sight of the mountain as a witness (*mešhad*). They may kill the animal they have vowed anywhere."<sup>39</sup> That to which the *mašhad* witnesses is not clear. From the preceding sentence it would appear that it was to a vow. The succeeding one might imply that it was to a prayer or a desire to honor the prophet, taking the place of a visit.

In any case the root idea is the same. It is evidence of a desire to honor the saint, left in the sight of the shrine by one who does not at the moment expect to go to it. I do not believe they are specially built for shrines difficult of access, as Curtiss suggests,<sup>40</sup> else the country about Nāblus would be covered with them, for there one is constantly coming in sight of a *kubbi* high on the mountain tops. Rather it would appear that certain conspicuous and highly venerated shrines have struck the wayfarer with

<sup>35</sup> *ānā bišhad ma'ak el-yōm wint išhad ma'ī yōm el-kiyāmi.*

<sup>36</sup> Kahle evidently heard the same explanation and found both *kantarah* and *śāhid* used; see *PJB*, VIII, p. 146.

<sup>37</sup> *ERE*, XI, p. 79.

<sup>38</sup> *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 337.

<sup>39</sup> *Prim. Sem. Rel.*, p. 80.

<sup>40</sup> *Loc. cit.* n. 1.

special awe as he suddenly caught sight of them when perhaps his thoughts had been far away. Lest he should appear lacking in reverence and thus offend a powerful *welū*, he stopped a moment to leave tangible evidence of his piety, and if some trouble was preying upon his mind, he vowed to make a ceremonial visit with offerings at a later time.

That the stones are to be a witness for the builder on the day of resurrection, as Kahle says,<sup>41</sup> is not evident. Neither did I anywhere discover proof that the little heaps witness to "une visite accomplie,"<sup>42</sup> with the possible exception of el-Hadr in et-Taiyibeh. There the stones are piled in the shrine itself as witness, possibly, to a visit made, but possibly to a vow to be paid later. In any case the evidence justifies my classification of the *nasib* or *kanṭarah* as an ocular, physical witness (*shāhid*) to the builder's piety.

One use of the heaps of stone I discovered of which I have never caught a hint in any of my reading or other investigations. Just outside of Sūr Bāhir, on the way to Jerusalem, we came upon a *nasib* on a large stone in a field of growing grain. The small boy who was showing us the way said it was for a good crop. To what saint or power it was erected I did not learn.

These notes will serve to exhibit the great variety of places which the modern Palestinian has turned into shrines where he may worship the invisible powers he believes to be at work about him. They will suggest the character of some of the varied rites by which he wins the favor of these mysterious powers. The multitudinous legends which illustrate his faith are beyond the scope of this article.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *PJB*, VIII, p. 146.

<sup>42</sup> Père Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 337) may have good evidence for his statement. His familiarity with the country is much greater than mine.

<sup>43</sup> My hearty thanks are due Professor Popper of the University of California for earnest efforts to help me bring accuracy and consistency into my transliteration of Arabic words, and to Mr. E. N. Haddad of the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem, and Dr. Albright, director of the American School, for assistance in gathering material.



Plate 1. Shrine of Sheikh Ma'sūk near Tyre.



Plate 2. Shrine of Sheikh Mujir ed-din near Nablus.



Plate 3. Shrine of Sheikh 'Abd es-Salām near 'Anātā.

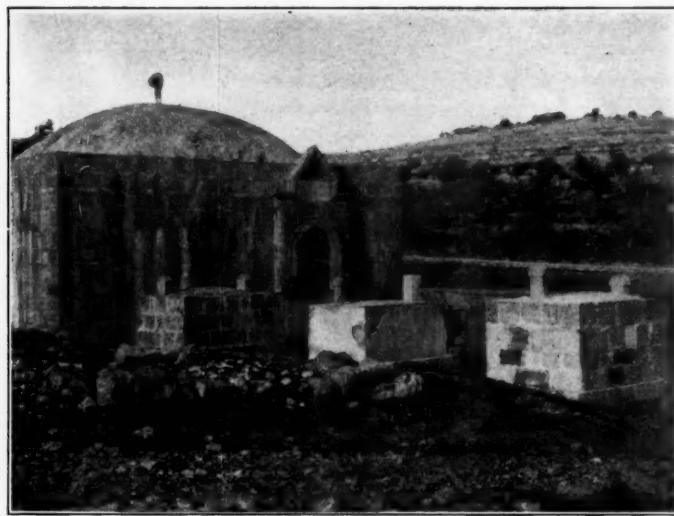


Plate 4. Tomb of Abu Ghōsh.



Plate 5. Cenotaph of Sheikh Shihab ed-din at Nazareth.

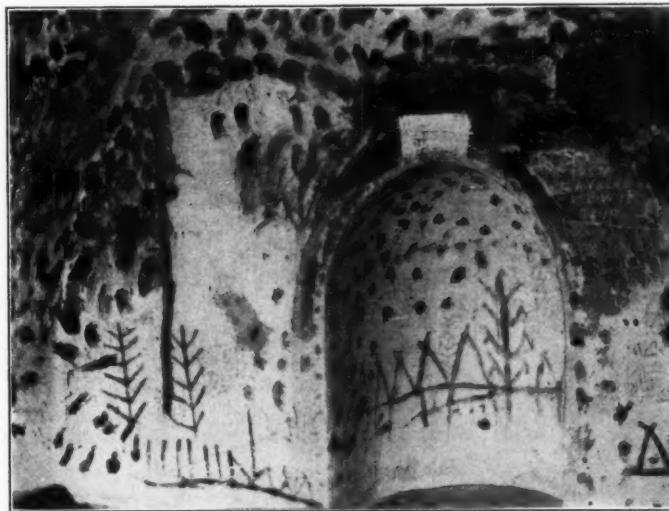


Plate 6. Mihrab of Sheikh Samet at Sarca.

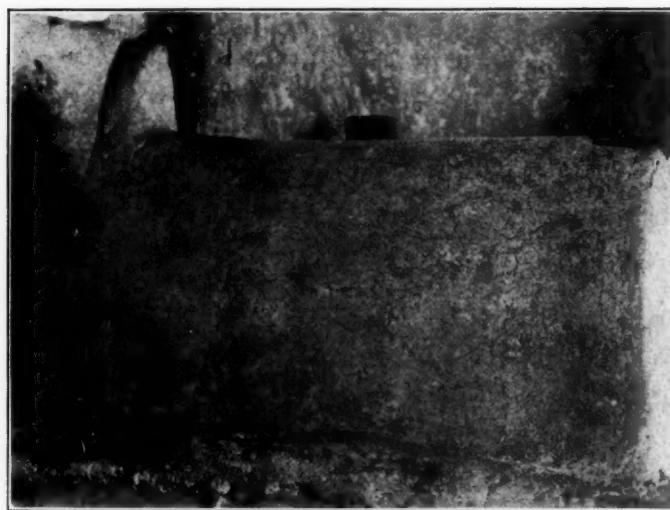


Plate 7. Cenotaph in Shrine of Abu Sall at 'Ain Kārim.



Plate 8. Mihrabs in Shrine of Abu Sall at 'Ain Kārim.



Plate 9. Shrine of Abu Sall at 'Ain Kārim.



Plate 10. Shrine of Sheikh 'Ali at Beisān.

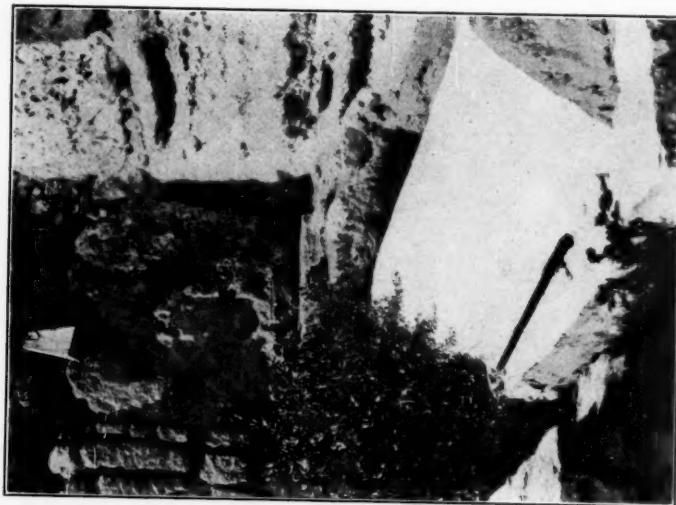


Plate 11. Shrine of Sheikh Ṣadūd ibn Aus.

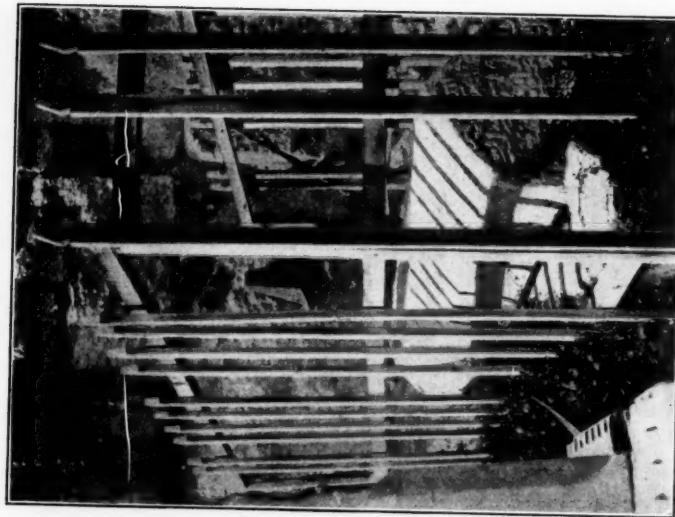


Plate 12. Shrine of Sheikh 'Ola'ida ibn es-Sa'imet.



Plate 14. Sacred (?) Olive Tree near Solū.



Plate 13. Shrine of Ṣullāh el-bāb at Solū.



Plate 15. Shrine of Sheikh Muṣṭafa near Sobā.



Plate 16. Shrine of Sheikh Misyif in Wādi en-Nār.



Plate 17. Sacred Oak Trees near Kafr 'Akāb.



Plate 18. Sacred Tree near 'Ain Yebrūd.



Plate 19. Shrine of Sheikh el-Ajami near Mejdel.

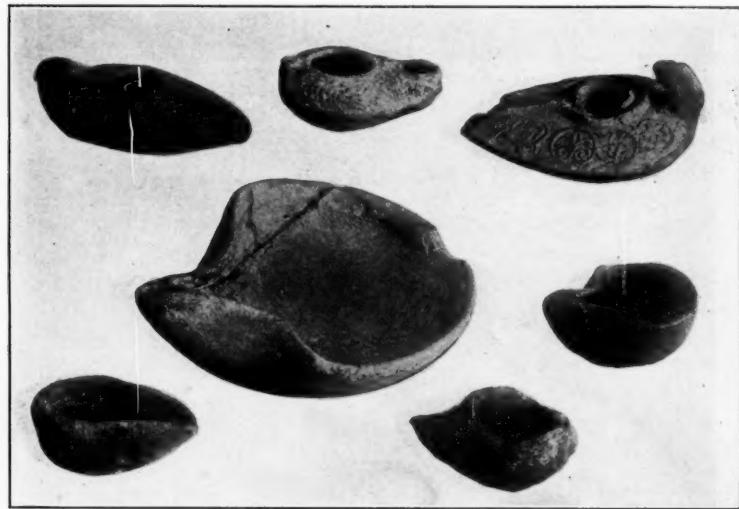


Plate 20. Types of Lamps found at Shrines. (Reduced about two-thirds.) The large lamp in the center and the two above at the right are ancient.



Plate 21. Stones of Witness near el-Hadr.



Plate 22. Stones of Witness near et-Taiyibeh.

## SEPULCHRAL CUP-MARKS, POOLS AND CONDUITS NEAR JERUSALEM.

BY W. H. WORRELL.

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A straight line drawn from the Protestant Cemetery to the Dēr Abū Tōr,<sup>1</sup> across the hill known as the Mount of Evil Counsel, which is on the south side of the Wādi er-Rabāba, passes through a little Karaite cemetery, in the midst of ancient tombs, which is not over a hundred years old and which is not mentioned in descriptions of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The place is interesting because of its abundant cup-marks, of various ages and origins.<sup>3</sup>

Cup-marked stones occur in many places throughout the world, and present one of the most fascinating of archaeological problems, the solution of which will remain impossible until it is realized that no one explanation is satisfactory for what is in reality a complex of independent problems, similar only in that they have to do with holes and depressions in rock

<sup>1</sup> The Mount of Evil Counsel is called nowadays by the townspeople Ĝebel Abū Tōr, by the peasants Ĝ. Abū Tōr, and by the guidebooks Ĝ. Abū Tōr or similarly. Tōr is unintelligible to the townspeople. They do not connect it with the correct form Tōr, out of which it has arisen, by the t̄ becoming t and then, under the influence of the velar vowel, ū, the velarized dental t̄. Cf. Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*, 1910, p. 78; Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, 1853, ii, p. 5: "nach meinem Ohre beinahe wie Sor," i. e., t̄; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i, p. 276. The Mount of Olives is called Gebel at-Tür, with the old Aramaic name (cf. Abū l-Fidā, ed. Reinaud-deSlane, p. 69) Tür Zaitā; and Tür may have influenced Tōr, as the two are still confused. Meistermann, *Nouveau Guide de Terre Sainte*, 1907, p. 207, explains: "Djebel Deir Abou Tōr, mont du couvent du Père du Taureau. Il y eut là anciennement un monastère sous le vocable de saint Luc, dont l'emblème évangélique est le boeuf." The cliffs at the side of the Mount of Evil Counsel are called Sāq al-Ārūs, crux sponsae; its slope, aš-Šurnēn, an unintelligible name; its eastern end, aš-Šammā', the candlemaker or (classical) the candlestick; its top, or the parallel ridge beyond it, ar-Rās, with which one may compare hā-Rōš, II Samuel, xvi, 1, according to the LXX a proper name.

<sup>2</sup> The Karaites in Jerusalem number at present scarcely a dozen families, and have no rabbi. Their old burial places on the other side of Hinnom and in Kedron are well known. The ancient tombs at this point on the Mount of Evil Counsel have often been described. Cf. Tobler, op. cit., especially his tombs nos. 19, 20 in ii, pp. 255ff. These are called by the peasants Magā'ir al-Kufrija, Caves of the Infidels.

<sup>3</sup> Dalman, *Die Schalensteine Palästinas in ihrer Beziehung zu alter Kultur und Religion*, in *Palästina Jahrbuch*, 1908, p. 38, says: "In der unmittelbaren Umgebung Jerusalems ist mir keine Grabanlage bekannt, bei welcher Schalenvertiefungen vorkämen."<sup>4</sup>

surfaces.<sup>4</sup> Such may be caused by dripping or eddying water; but these require peculiar conditions which can rarely be supposed to have existed in Palestine. Idle loungers, such as the Palestinian shepherds, who sun themselves on the hillside or seek refuge from heat and rain in abandoned tombs, can hardly be credited with the expenditure of energy required to produce the cup-holes and cup-hollows found there. Holes are often made for sockets to hold beams, poles, lamps or jars; but these by their shape and position are easily recognized as such.<sup>5</sup> In an age of little pottery, depressions in the rock might be made to serve many domestic purposes: the watering of flocks, the washing of clothing and cloth; but they would have to be rather large and deep, and near some water supply. Large, shallow, elongated depressions are used by peasants for pounding oil out of olives, and it is suggested that they might be used for pressing grapes or grinding corn; but, although shepherds can be found who say that they have seen cup-marks used for watering animals and for pressing olives, it seems impossible to find anyone who will admit that he has made a cup-mark of any kind or seen one made. It may well be that they are now so used; but they do not appear to have been made for such purposes. The curious little hemispherical depressions on the flat-lying Karaite grave-stones on the Mount of Evil Counsel, and similar ones in the Muslim cemetery by the St. Stephen's Gate, too small to be explained away in this manner—for they measure only about two inches in diameter—are said, by Karaites and Muslims alike, to have been made there to collect water for the thirsty birds who will gladden the spot with their song.<sup>6</sup> The old care-taker of the Muslim cemetery stated, with apologies for what he deemed a superstition, that the dead were supposed to drink from these holes, and that the mourners come and fill them in the dry season. At a distance from graves and tombs similar depressions may have been made for the refreshment of genii. There is abundant evidence that such cup-marks were used for containing blood or food-offerings in connection with altars and tombs. A very limited number only can have been symbols of a goddess or of the female principle.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Thomsen, *Kompendium der palästinischen Altertumskunde*, 1913, pp. 28ff. and references. It is supposed that the round holes are made by rotating some sort of drill by means of a bow-and-string, and the others by chipping out, or grinding with a stone moved back and forth.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., the sockets in the cliffs at Dér Rifa near Asjüt, Egypt, and elsewhere, in which beams were laid for the houses built out as extensions of the cave dwellings.

<sup>6</sup> A very few cup-marks are found among the grave-stones of orthodox Jews on the Mount of Olives; and the orthodox have no explanation of their purpose.

The very old and common idea of the soul-bird which here appears, may have originated independently anywhere in connection with water left for the dead.

Illustrations of several varieties of cup-marks may be found in the Karaite cemetery on Abū Tōr. But before considering these, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that a great deal that was once well underground has become through quarrying operations—how many curious “remains” are due to them!—open hill-side. The destruction of the



Fig. 1.

tombs in Hinnom has been a long process and recently a rapid one, as anyone may observe from comparison of them as they are with Tobler's description. His no. 19 was dynamited by British soldiers in December, 1917; his no. 20 is about half removed. The ragged shapes that lie about must be studied with cautious reference to this. It should also be said that, of course, there is none but a chance connection between the old Jewish tombs of this vicinity and the recent Karaite cemetery.

#### LEGENDS TO FIGURES.

FIG. 1. The Karaite cemetery and its ancient Jewish tombs as viewed from the Protestant cemetery.

FIG. 2. A grave-stone with three cup-marks, made subsequent to the inscription.

FIG. 3. A grave-stone with two very carefully made cup-marks, probably as old as the inscription.

FIG. 4. Part of a tomb, once underground but now exposed, showing quarriers' groove.

FIG. 5. A curious fragment with a depression, which I cannot explain.

FIG. 6. Two shallow depressions upon the stone which was once in front of the secondary entrance to the ante-chamber of a Jewish tomb. The outline of the chief entrance is plainly seen to the right. It does not appear to have been inside the tomb.

FIG. 7. Similar depressions upon what was once the bench within a chamber of the same tomb (Fig. 6). Bodies or ossuaries are supposed to have occupied such benches. How could the depressions then have been employed?

FIG. 8. Similar depressions, similarly located, in another part of the same tomb (Fig. 6). Peasants would hardly go into a tomb to press their olives.

FIGS. 9, 10. Depressions upon altar-like rocks, doubtless remains of tombs.

FIG. 11. Depression said by a shepherd to be used for watering goats from a near-by cistern.

FIG. 12. Similar (Fig. 11) but larger depression on an undressed rock remote from water.

FIG. 13. A basin on the hill-side at Sebaste.

FIG. 14. Ancient mortars at old Jericho, which suggest a possible use of certain cup-marks.

FIG. 15. Lamp-niches in the vestibule of a tomb on Abū Tōr.

FIG. 16. Present appearance of Tobler's tomb No. 20. In the shadow first encountered to the left of the stairs is a water-pool, once within the tomb, fed by a channel in the rock which runs upward and terminates in some arrangement which has been broken away.

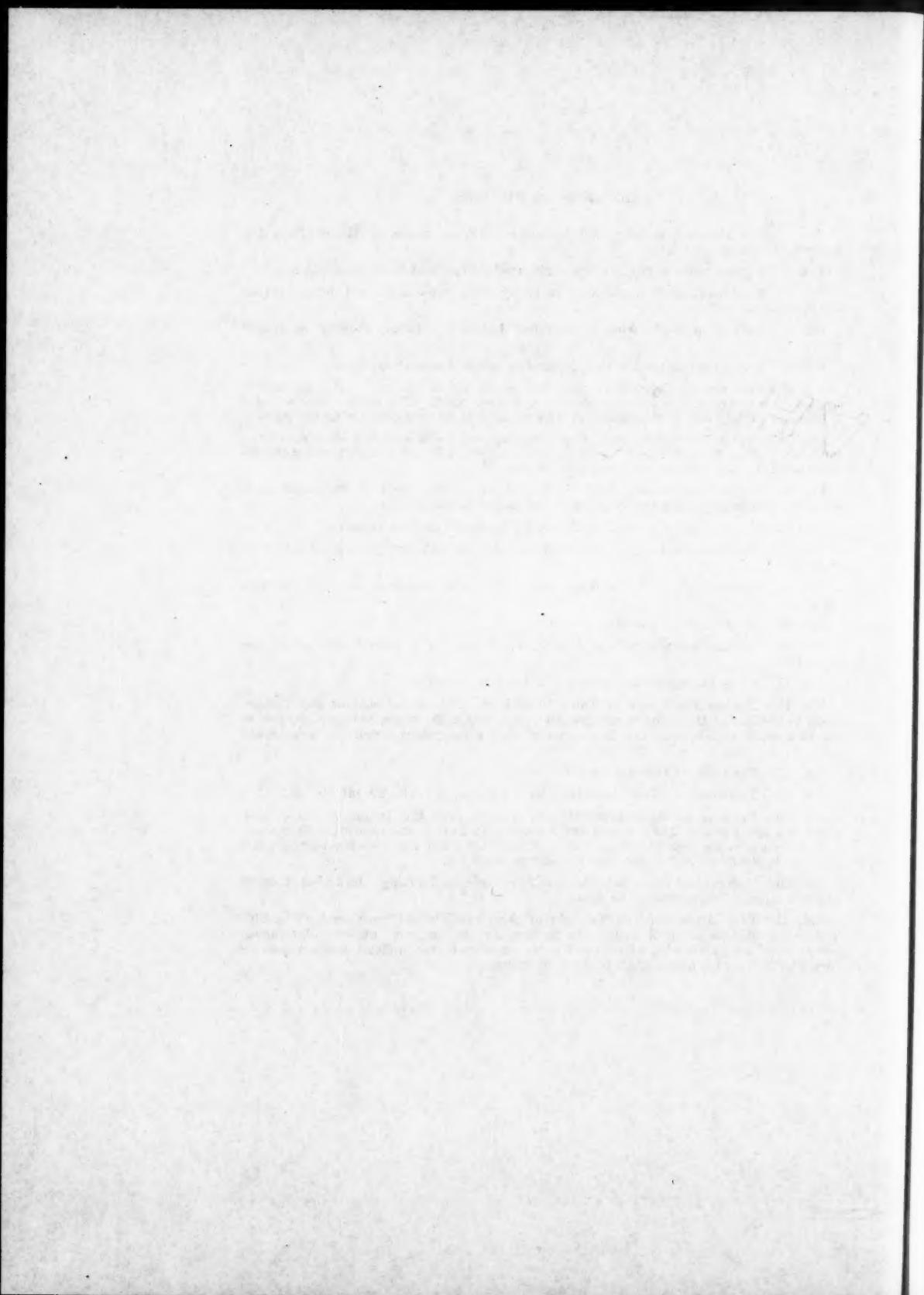
FIG. 17. The pool. (Tobler's tomb No. 20.)

FIG. 18. The channel. Just above the pool is a niche. (Tobler's tomb No. 20.)

FIG. 19. Remains of the ante-chamber of a tomb near the Tombs of the Judges, showing a small pool within a recess, and a feeding channel communicating with a reservoir or trench in the rock above. I have not seen this tomb, and owe the photographic evidence to Professor Paton who took the picture in 1903-4.

FIG. 20. Cisterns and conduits in the so-called Tombs of the Kings, Jerusalem, thought to be of Helen of Adiabene, 40-70 A.D.

FIG. 21. Pool in the court to the right of the portico in the same tomb (Fig. 20). There is a still larger pool within the portico, directly in front of the subterranean entrance to the catacombs, so situated as to make entrance difficult without passing through it. There is also a small pool on the stairway.



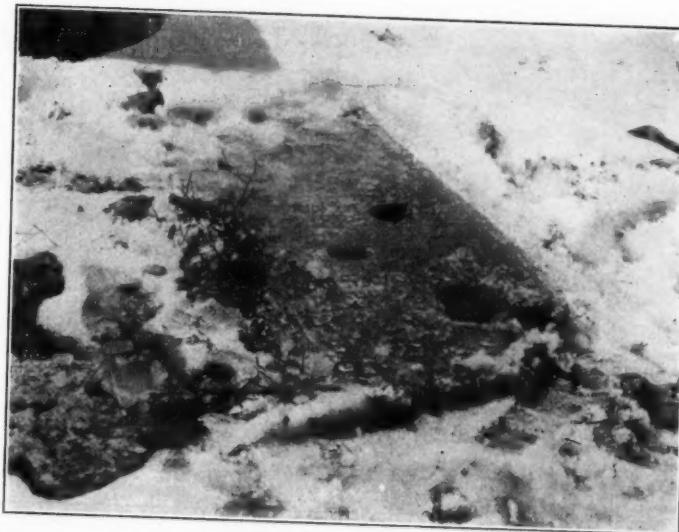


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

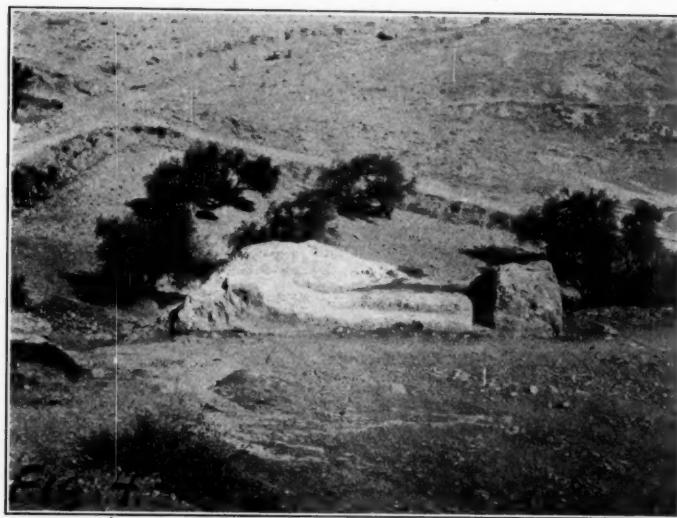


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

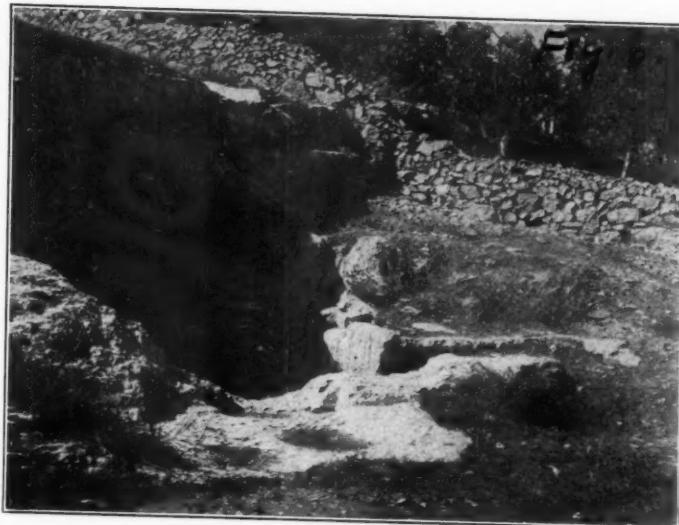


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

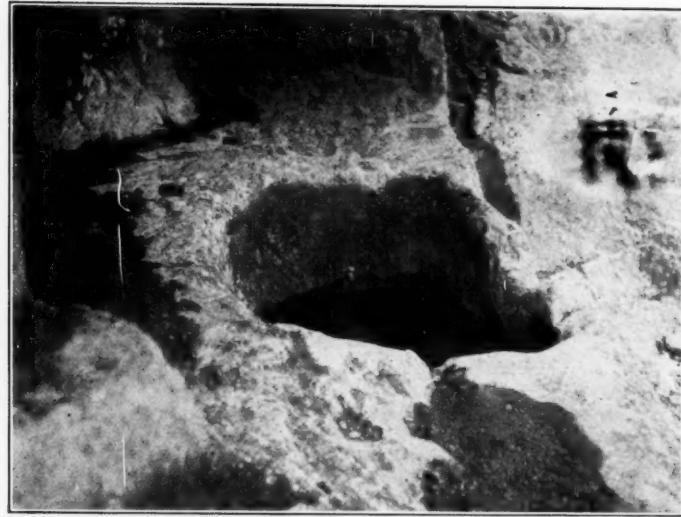


Fig. 17.

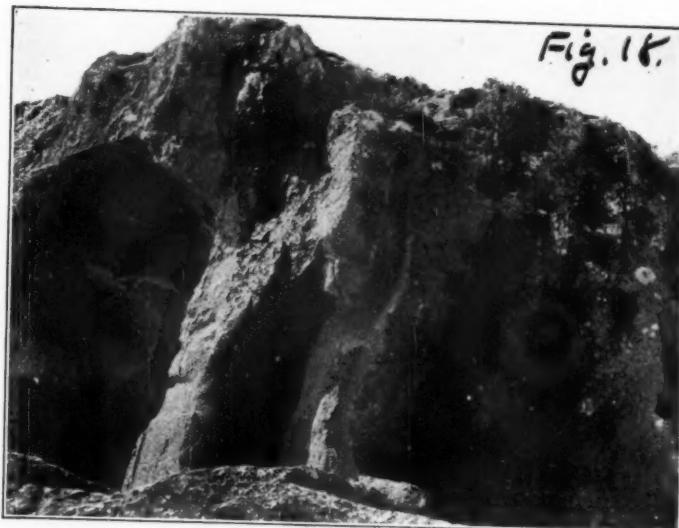


Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.

A great deal has been written on the Tombs of the Kings; but, so far as I know, no one has explained satisfactorily the presence and position of the pools, cisterns and conduits. For that matter, no one has explained the irregularity of the stairway, the stone bench running around two sides of the great court, the gutter begun on the east wall of the court and abandoned, the manner of draining the court, the great difference in age and character of the tomb-chambers within, and the depression, possibly a pool, in the floor of the door leading to the last of the chambers.

I believe that the system is one of gradual growth. The stairway was not designed and executed, with a certain number of steps, each of certain dimensions, but was adapted from the rough stairway left by quarriers as they dug downward. The cisterns were "solution-caves," like bubbles in the solid rock, opened up by the quarrying operations. The gutters were at once for draining the stairway and preventing accumulation of water below, and for filling the cisterns. The great court itself was originally a quarry. The bench, in imitation of those which were always found in the ante-chambers of old Jewish tombs, was fashioned when the great pit was made over into the court of the tomb. The discontinued conduit shows that the alterations were not systematically undertaken. The underground chambers were made little by little. A *kōk* in one instance has been made the entrance to a new chamber. The chamber with arcosolia is of better workmanship and better preserved than older portions.

The foregoing figures present four problems: The meaning of the Karaite cup-marks. The meaning of the shallow depressions in the old tombs. The meaning of the larger depressions lying in the open. The meaning of pools and conduits in tombs.

The third of these I should answer by saying that they are probably, though not certainly, independent of both the ancient Jewish tombs and the modern Karaite graves; and their use probably, though not certainly, practical. The second may be answered with much more reserve: These shallow depressions may be for pressing olives, or they may have something to do with the apparatus of the ancient Jewish tombs in which they occur; being used to contain some kind of offering left for the dead. Of the first problem it may be said, without much danger of error, that the Karaite, like the Muslim, cupules are receptacles for water that is placed for the refreshment of the thirsty dead. And this answer leads to the solution of the fourth problem: The pools and feeding-conduits in the ancient tombs are the larger counterpart—prototype or development—of the cup-marks on the tomb-stones.

Nowhere more than in Babylonia and Assyria is the thirst of the dead felt and provided for. We read in the text of the Rassam Cylinder, col. vi,

70-76: "Die Mausoleen ihrer Könige, der Früheren und der Späteren, die Ašur und Ištar, meine Herren, nicht gefürchtet und sich gegen die Könige, meine Väter, aufgelehnt hatten, zerstörte, verheerte ich und liess sie die Sonne sehen. Ihre Gebeine nahm ich (mit) nach Assyrien, ihren Geistern legte ich Rhuelosigkeit auf und verwehrte ihnen Speisung und Wasserspendung." (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii, 207.) The very ancient burial-eaves at Gezer are filled with jars which must have contained liquid refreshment for the dead. Both Greeks and Romans had mechanical arrangements for conveying liquids into the grave underground. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the Jews were influenced by such customs. Yet one searches the Old Testament and the New, and the Talmud, in vain for positive evidence of the same.

In the short tractate *Semāhōth*, otherwise *Ebel Rabbāthī*, occurs the following sentence: **אין כוֹצִיאֵין אֶמֶת הַמִּים מִן הַקּוֹבְרוֹת וְלֹא יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁמֶן שְׁבֵיל** which would seem to mean: "People do not conduct (the?) water-channel out from the graves, and one shall not make there a way." It occurs in connection with other restrictions preventing parks connected with tombs from becoming places of recreation or profit. One must not gather there fire-wood or grass, nor pasture animals there, nor go walking. (Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, 1911, ii, p. 77.) It is possible that the prohibition in question means that an aqueduct under construction must not be made to cut across a cemetery. But this cannot have occurred often, like the other nuisances of pasturing, wood-gathering and walking. It is much more likely that it refers to some objectionable practice, the original significance of which is not understood by the collectors of the tractate.

The fact remains that certain Jewish tombs at Jerusalem have pools and water-channels, thus far unexplained. It is forbidden to conduct water-channels from tombs. Krauss translates: "Doch dürfen in der *Gräberanlage* weder Wasser rinnen noch ein Steg angelegt....werden." (The italics are mine.) This water collected at or near the tomb could not have been used for washing the dead, for that was done at home. Neither could the water be used for washing the visitors at the tomb, to purify them from their uncleanness; for the water itself was unclean. Nor, for the same reason, could it be used by visitors or others for drinking or any other common purpose. On the contrary, note Spoer's idea (*Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxviii, pp. 271 ff.), that pools in vertical walls near tombs are for the blood of sacrifice offered at the tomb, as were the dolmen-sacrifices in the East Jordan country. Spoer is the only writer who seems to have seen the pools at all; and he has not noticed, or at any rate accounted for, the channels, which must be for water and not for blood.

## A PAINTED CHRISTIAN TOMB AT BEIT JIBRIN.

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In the second number of the first volume of *Art and Archaeology* (September, 1914) an account was given of a painted tomb, belonging to the Christian era, that had been discovered the previous year at Beit Jibrin. This was intended to be a preliminary report, with the expectation that in due course of time the illustrations showing the interior decorations of the tomb would be reproduced in color. The fulfillment of this plan has been delayed up to the present by exigencies arising from the World War. It has seemed particularly desirable to make some more permanent record of this tomb because of the likelihood that all of its decorations will be speedily obliterated by exposure to the weather and by the vandalism of the natives.

Had such a burial place come to light in another country, it might be deserving of little attention, but in Palestine painted tombs of any description are very rare. Almost nothing of this kind, of any importance, has been reported in the twenty years since the notable discovery of Dr. Peters and Dr. Thiersch.<sup>1</sup> There are comparatively few centers in Palestine where we have reason to anticipate that future excavations will lead to developments in this field.

It was in March, 1913, that the rumor first reached me in Jerusalem that a tomb had been found recently at Beit Jibrin, with cocks painted in red upon the wall. The message was brought by a villager who was offering a figurine for sale, which it was affirmed had been found in this tomb. This was all the information that I had to guide me when, on the 12th of the following May, I came to the town in the course of one of the tours of the American School of Oriental Research. My efforts to get some clue as to the location of the tomb with the cocks were at first entirely without results. It was only on the second day, a few hours before my departure, that I succeeded in my quest. Contrary to expectation, the new tomb did not prove to be a near neighbor to the painted tombs discovered eleven years before by Peters and Thiersch. It was a full mile away and not far from the modern village, in a valley running in a south-easterly direction toward the ruins of the old crusading church of St. Anne.

<sup>1</sup> Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs of the Necropolis of Marissa*. Palestine Exploration Fund, 1905.

In the immediate locality there are two wells that are not widely separated. A short distance beyond the second well (the one more remote from the village), among some old olive trees, on the hillside, at the right of the path, there are traces of an old necropolis which included the present tomb. The appearance of the surface of the ground in this place at the time of my visit



Fig. 1. Present Appearance of the Surface of the Ground.  
Opening into Tomb indicated by Cross.

is shown in the first illustration (Fig. 1). To judge from the small, hardened hummocks of dirt, as well as from the state of the growth of the thorn bushes round about, there must have been earlier and unsuccessful attempts to open the tomb. A very little probing would have revealed a scarped surface of rock, but it required not a little patience and effort to burrow down sufficiently deep to reach the doorway.

We entered by sliding down an inclined plane of débris and crawling through a hole scooped out just under the top of the doorway.<sup>2</sup> It was not possible to decide with any certainty as to the original avenue of approach, nor as to the spaciousness of the court that may have been cut out before the tomb.

Upon entering, one found himself in a small, single tomb-chamber cut

<sup>2</sup> The opening for the door had an outer width of 20 inches and this increased to 29½ inches on the inside. The top of the door was 5½ inches from the ceiling of the tomb. The threshold and all the lower portions of the door were concealed by débris.

in the soft, chalky limestone that is characteristic of the district. There were three large arcosolia, each containing a sunk bench grave, and in addition, in the front wall, there was a diminutive arched recess on either side of the entrance (Figures 4 and 5).

The tomb, exclusive of the arcosolia, had an average length of about 8 feet, a width of approximately 6 feet 7 inches, and a height at the back (the only place where measurement was possible) of 5 feet 9 inches.<sup>3</sup> The arch of the arcosolium on the left as one entered had an extreme width of 5 feet 8 inches, a height of 4 feet 5 inches, and an average depth of 3 feet 6 inches. The sunk bench grave included within it was in the form of a sarcophagus 5 feet 9 inches long, from 2 feet 2 inches to 2 feet 3 inches wide, and from 10 to 12 inches high, with an inside length varying from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8 inches, and a depth of 1 foot 5 inches. The thickness of the side was about 3½ inches. There was a cushion-head at the inner end, and behind this a projection rose 7½ inches above the edge of the sarcophagus (Plate 1). The dimensions of the remaining arcosolia were much the same, save that the one in the back wall was somewhat wider and consequently the grave included within it was longer.<sup>4</sup> In the floor at the back of the tomb, just in front of the last named sarcophagus, there was a sunk grave, having a length varying from 6 feet 1 inch to 6 feet 3 inches and a width ranging from 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 6 inches. At the time of our visit it was filled with stones and dirt. All the sarcophagi were open, and the stone slabs with which the graves had been covered originally, had been removed and broken.

<sup>3</sup> The main chamber, which was irregular in shape, had a length of 9 feet 2 inches at the back and of 8 feet at the front. Its width at the extreme left was 6 feet 5 inches, but this diminished to 5 feet 10 inches near the edge of the door. On the right the width ranged in like manner from 7 feet to 5 feet 10 inches. The height at the back, where the floor was exposed, was 5 feet 7 inches on the left side and 5 feet 11 inches on the right.

<sup>4</sup> The bottom width of the arch in the back wall was 7 feet and 1 inch; its exact height, not easily determined because of the broken top, was probably 5 feet 6 inches. It had a depth on the left of 3 feet 10 inches, and on the right of 3 feet 8 inches. The grave itself had an inside length of 6 feet 4 inches, and a depth ranging from 1 foot 6 inches at the left end to 1 foot 8 inches at the right end. The cushion-head was at the right, and the projection behind it rose 10 inches above the sides of the sarcophagus. The front side was about 5 inches in thickness.

The arch of the right wall was 6 feet 1 inch wide and 4 feet 8 inches high. Its depth on the left was 3 feet 4 inches, and on the right near the door 2 feet 10½ inches. The sarcophagus grave here was 5 feet 11 inches long and had an inside width of 1 foot 6 inches at the right end and 1 foot 7 inches at the left end, while the depth was 1 foot 5½ inches. The outside height of the front side was 12½ inches and its thickness 4½ inches. There was a cushion-head at the end farthest from the door and back of this a projection rose 6 inches above the sides of the sarcophagus.

The tool marks gave evidence that picks had been used in the earlier stages of the excavation, and that the walls had then been smoothed with broad-bladed chisels (3½ to 4 inches wide). The whole interior was outlined with red stripes. In addition to this, each of the walls had a rather elaborate scheme of decoration. For this purpose conventional sepulchral

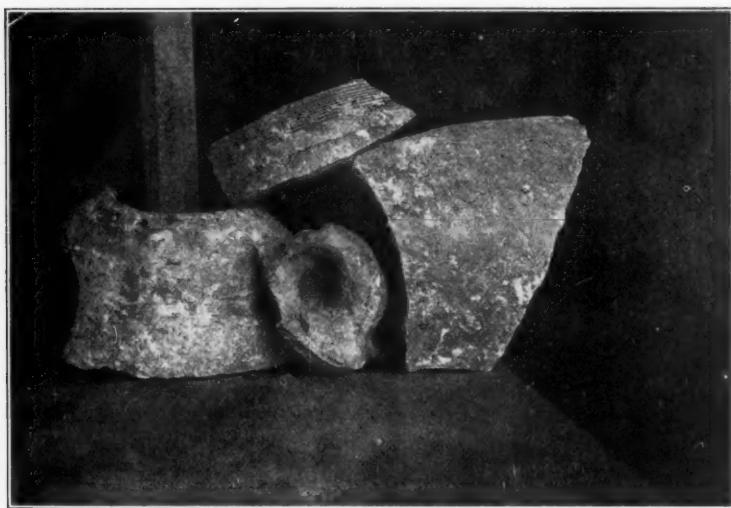


Fig. 2. Fragments of Pottery found in the Tomb of the Cocks.

emblems had been used. On the left wall we could trace the mutilated forms of birds painted in red (Plate 1). There was no evidence of intentional destruction here, but it would appear that the stone had flaked off and had crumbled away from natural causes. In this manner whatever may have been painted in the space between the birds had entirely disappeared. Below the arch, upon the wall within the recess of the arcosolium, there was a flower design, also done in red (Plate 1).

It did not prove possible to secure a comprehensive view of the back wall because the proper adjustment of the camera for such a purpose was prevented by the mass of débris filling the front of the tomb. However, Plates 2 and 3 show the decorations of the spandrels of the wall on the right and left respectively, while Plate 4 gives a full view, lower down within the arch of the arcosolium. Enough remains to prove that peacocks were painted in the spandrels, along with flowers that possibly may have



Plate 1. Left Wall and Arcosolium of the Tomb of the Cocks.



Plate 2. Inner Spandrel of Left Wall and Left Spandrel of Rear Wall.

been intended for anemones. Natural disintegration had caused considerable masses of limestone to break away and had destroyed the entire top of the arch, with whatever adornment it may have possessed. Upon the wall of this arcosolium there were three crosses in red, the central one being surrounded by a wreath tied with a ribbon whose ends were extended in a festoon. The flowers of the wreath were indistinct, but they seemed to show, in addition to the prevailing red, touches of yellow and blue.

The right wall was found to be best preserved and proved in other ways of greatest interest (Frontispiece). In the spandrels we have two spirited cocks done in red. Both were intact when I first saw them, on May 12, 1913, but in the interval that elapsed before my next visit, on June 3rd, the cock farthest from the entrance was badly mutilated by the natives. There was likewise a design of flowers, with a cross, just over the center of the arch. Upon the wall within the arcosolium, the sketch of a grape-vine with several clusters of fruit could still be seen.

The space above the two diminutive arched recesses in the front, or door-wall, was decorated with crosses (two on either side) and flowers (Figures 4 and 5). The color was red and harmonized with what appeared elsewhere. The niches below, which were almost entirely blocked with débris, had doubtless been intended for the burial of children.<sup>5</sup> Bliss and Macalister found that one of the characteristics of the tombs of Beit Jibrin was the presence of recesses prepared for such a purpose.<sup>6</sup> As a rule they were in wall spaces that were not large enough for other uses.

It will be noticed that the crosses are throughout an integral part of the original scheme of decoration, as is shown both by their coloring and by their position. Of themselves they would not necessarily prove this to be a Christian tomb, for the cross has been used as an ornament and as a religious symbol from earliest times. However, their nearly equilateral shape, as well as the emphasis given to them in the design, incline one to believe that they belong to the Byzantine period.<sup>7</sup> It seems not unlikely

<sup>5</sup> The niche on the right as one entered was 2 feet 4 inches wide, and that on the left 2 feet 5½ inches.

<sup>6</sup> *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> The cross between the cocks on the left wall was 6½ inches high and 6 inches wide. Its bars had a width of 1½ inches. On the back wall the central cross was imperfect, but its height was 9½ inches and its width, had it been perfectly preserved, would probably have been 7½ inches. The other crosses on this wall were 7½ inches high and 6½ inches wide (right), and 7½ inches high by 7½ inches wide (left). The bars ranged from 1½ to 1¾ inches in width. The wreath had a perpendicular diameter of 26½ inches, and a horizontal diameter of 25¾ inches. The crosses on the front wall at the right were 5¾ by 5½ inches (upper) and 4¾ by 4¾ inches (lower); and at the left 5½ by 3¾ inches (upper) and 4½ by 3¾ inches (lower). The bars were from ¾ to 1½ inches wide.

that originally there were crosses over the arches of the left and back walls similar to those that are now seen at the right between the cocks. Chancing to look up as I was crawling out of the tomb, I saw a small cross cut in the underside of the rock over the doorway. The flowers would indicate the same period, for they were used to adorn Christian tombs at an early



Fig. 3. Pottery reported by a native of Beit Jibrin to have been found in the Tomb of the Cocks.

time. In the case of those resembling anemones, it is possible that the lilies of the field mentioned in the Gospels are intended. The vine also fits in with this conclusion, since it became one of the most important Christian emblems. The same holds true of the birds. Peacocks represented immortality, on the supposition that their flesh was incorruptible. Cocks likewise were looked upon as standing for immortality, or as being heralds of Christ's appearing. Just as their crowing before the break of day announces the coming dawn, so in the darkness of the tomb they were thought of as proclaiming the morn of the resurrection. For this reason they are painted with open beaks, in the act of crowing. In the tomb discovered by Peters and Thiersch, a cock with open beak is to be seen striding away from the doorway leading into the main chamber. His chthonic significance is made evident by the three-headed Cerberus which appears as his counterpart on the other side of the door. In conception and execution, however, this cock is entirely unlike those in our tomb.

Of the objects that the tomb may have contained nothing was discoverable save a few fragments of pottery. They were parts of a large amphora of the Roman type that may well have come from the Byzantine period (Fig. 2). Mr. Macalister found such a one in an un rifled tomb during his excavations at Gezer.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Excavations at Gezer*, Vol. 1, p. 361. Palestine Exploration Fund.

I had scant opportunity to investigate other tombs in the immediate vicinity and to gather their testimony. Those into which I did descend were of the same general type, though one or two were much larger and contained more graves. One was outlined in red, but had no further decoration that I could discover. Another had been closed, or at least partially blocked, by a rolling stone marked with a cross (Fig. 6). It may be



Fig. 4. A Portion of the Right Wall and of the Front or Door Wall.

concluded, then, that this spot is the site of a necropolis constructed by Christians, or that they appropriated to their use one already existing here. We know that Beit Jibrin was early an important Christian center, but we have as yet only fragmentary information as to the development of its history. Crosses occur in the great domed caverns for which the locality is famous. They are also scratched, or painted in red, in some tombs near the ruined church of St. Anne. But, up to the present, no Christian tomb possessing such elaborate decorations as the one here described has come to light in this vicinity, or elsewhere in Palestine.



Fig. 5. Portion of the Front or Door Wall and of the Left Wall.

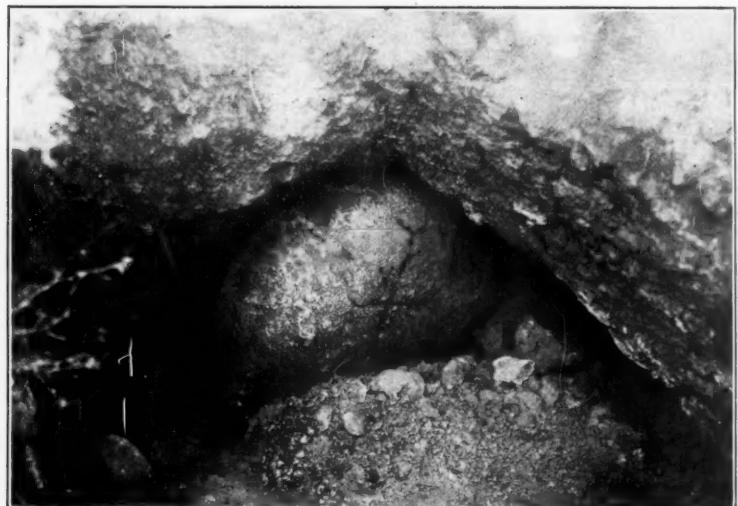


Fig. 6. Rolling Stone marked with a Cross at the Entrance of a Neighboring Tomb.



Plate 3. Right Spandrel of Rear Wall and Inner Spandrel of Right Wall.

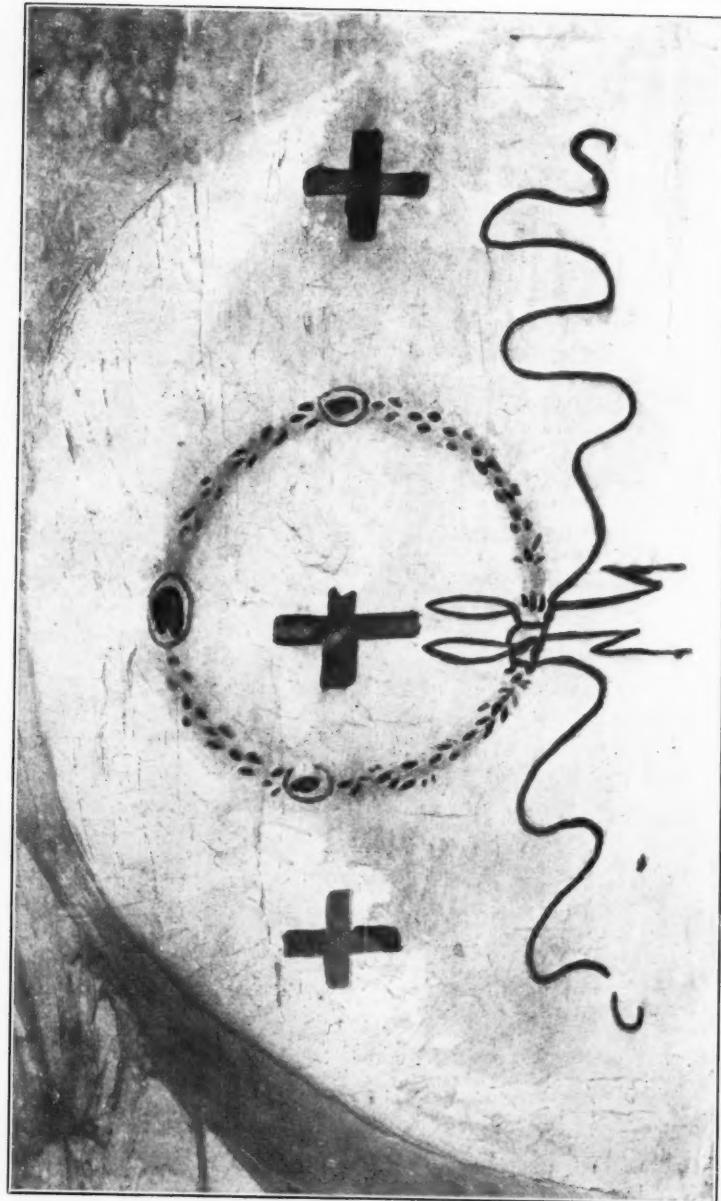


Plate 4. Arcosolium of Rear Wall decorated with Crosses and a Wreath tied with Ribbon.

## A FEW ANCIENT SEALS.

BY CHARLES C. TORREY.

Yale University.

The seals here described are a miscellany, belonging to several different collections. Numbers 2-7 have never before been published, as far as I am aware. In the case of the seals belonging to the collection of the late Mr. Herbert E. Clark, Vice-Consul of the United States in Jerusalem, I am chiefly indebted to my colleague, Professor Clay, for wax impressions made by him in Jerusalem in 1920. The facsimile of one of these seals, that of Elišama', is from an impression sent to me, many years ago, by Dr. H. H. Spoer; and that of No. 6 is from an excellent impression in clay made for me in 1906 by Professor George Sverdrup. All the facsimiles are of the same size as their originals, unless otherwise stated.

1. *An Ammonite Seal.* The seal here published and described contains the only known writing which can be claimed as Ammonite. The seal is already pretty well known, though its true character and importance have not been recognized. It was first published by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., in the Periodical *Hebraica* for July, 1891, p. 257, but the inscription was not correctly read by him. Clermont-Ganneau, in the first volume of his *Études d' Archéologie Orientale*, 1895, pp. 85-90, gave the correct reading, and accompanied it with a discussion so full and penetrating as to leave very little to be said. He also provided two facsimile half-tones, but as neither one is sufficiently distinct, it has seemed to me desirable to make a new attempt at a facsimile, as well as to put in a new light certain observations made by the brilliant French scholar.

The seal, formerly the property of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, was presented by him to Dropsie College in that city, and it is through the great kindness of Dr. Cyrus Adler, the President of the institution, that I have been enabled to make a cast directly from the object itself. It is a scaraboid of a variegated reddish agate; the accompanying illustration is one and one-half times the size of the original.

The principal device on the face of the seal is of a well-known late Assyrian type, a winged demon erect on two clawed feet, with tightly curled tail, and holding a dagger in the left hand. Above, on either side of the head, are a crescent and a small circular disc representing the sun. The figure is executed in masterly style, and the workmanship is excellent in all the details.

The inscription reads as follows: **לְאָדָנְפָלַט עֲבָד עַמְנָדָב**, "(Seal) of Adonipelet, Servant of Amminadab."

The "עֲבָד" seals seem to have been generally, if not always, the property of royal officers of high rank. The title "Servant," not always designating the same office, is followed either by the word **הַמֶּלֶךְ**, "the King," or else by the king's name. The matter has been discussed at length by several scholars; see especially Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d' Archéologie Orientale* I, 33 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II, 142 f.; and the *Répertoire d' Épigraphie Sémitique* II, no. 534, with the references there given. In the last-named passage, dealing with the famous "Jeroboam seal," the editor remarks: "L' absence du titre de roi ne permet pas de voir dans **רַכְעָם** le roi d' Israël du même nom." I do not see how it is possible to justify this statement. The available space on these little seals is very limited, and no convention could be more natural than the omission of either the name or the title of the king; only one of the two is needed, and the presence of both together would be really surprising.

Clermont-Ganneau, in his discussion of the inscription on this seal, remarked (*ibid.*, p. 89) that Amminadab is known not only as a Hebrew name but also as the name of an Ammonite king who paid tribute to Assyria (according to him, in the time of Esarhaddon), and that therefore the seal might be of Ammonite origin. He laid no weight upon this conjecture, however, but thought it equally possible (*ibid.*) that the seal was Israelite, as Derenbourg had contended. No further attention was paid to this conjecture, as far as I am aware. In the glossary of Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, the **עַמְנָדָב** of this seal is entered as Phoenician (p. 209) and the **עַמְנָדָב** (p. 343) as Hebrew—apparently an oversight.

The theory of Ammonite origin, however, is something more than a mere conjecture. The Assyrian king to whom "Amminadab, king of Ammon," paid tribute was Ašurbanipal (*Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek* II, 240). We know, therefore, that in his time Assyrian influence was potent in Ammon, especially at court. This was a time when a "servant of Amminadab" would be likely to have an Assyrian device engraved on his seal. Clermont-Ganneau remarks (*ibid.*) that both palaeographically and in the style of Assyrian art the seal might well belong to the 7th century B. C. It is possible to say more than this, however, for it is precisely the art of the time of Ašurbanipal that this demon with the short dagger first suggests.

There is other evidence of some importance, which can be presented here for the first time, namely the peculiar form of two of the characters in the inscription. We may certainly take it for granted that the letters, so



1. Adonipelet

2. Nathaniah 3. Hōnan

4. Sithra 5. Elramaz

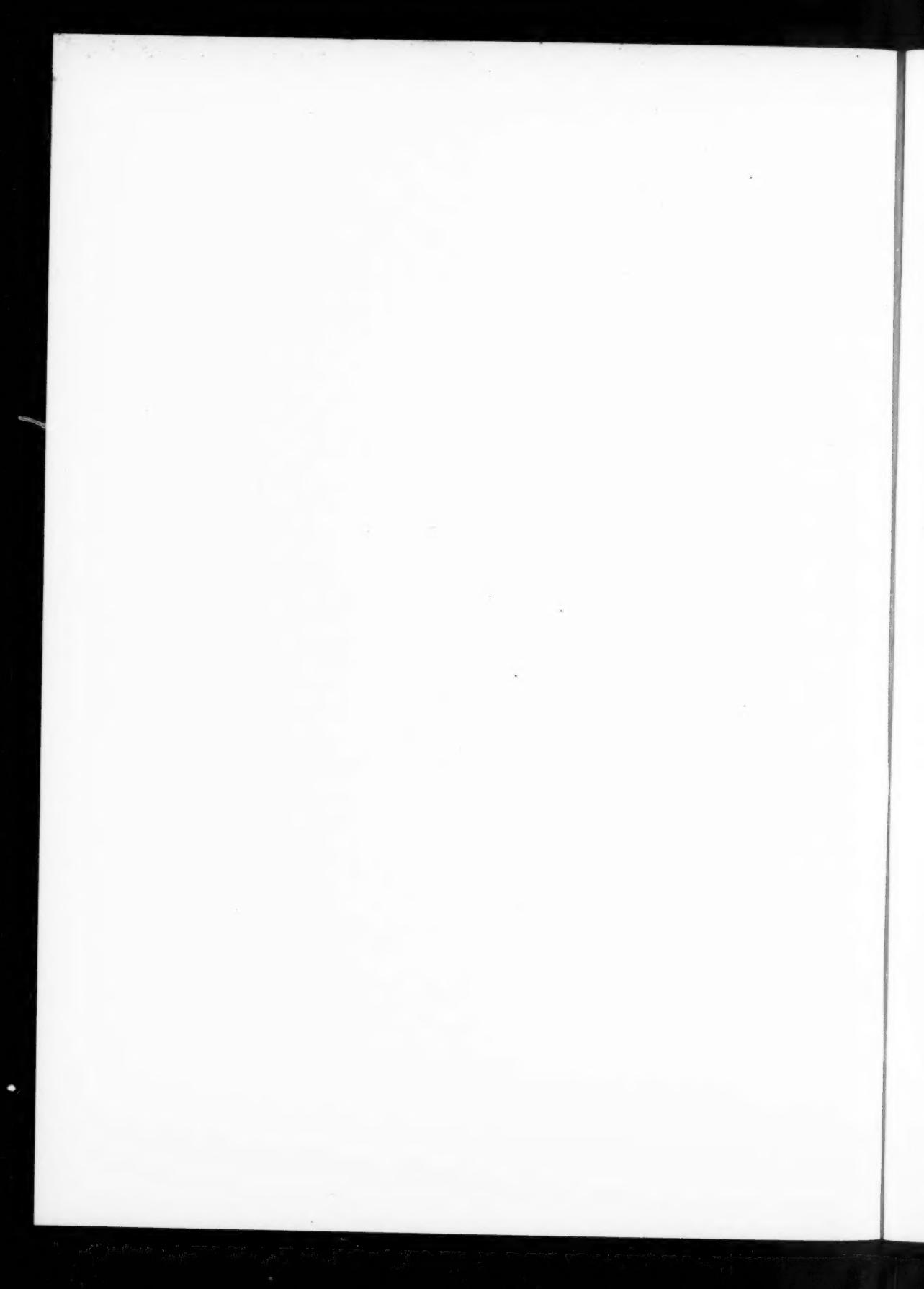
6. Seal from Gaza(?)

7. Lydian seal 10. Demaliah

9. Elišama<sup>4</sup> 11. Rama<sup>4</sup>

12. Shebaniah





carefully engraved, represent the best standard of their locality. The form of the **ו** is very remarkable, I know of no other example with which it could be compared. The limb of the character which is produced upward and bent over at the top is on the right side, not on the left. It is carved with perfect clearness, and it must be said that it is a perfectly natural development of the old Phoenician character, such as might easily become customary in a single locality. The letter is not shown distinctly in the facsimile published by Clermont-Ganneau, who speaks (p. 89) of "la silhouette confuse présentée par la gravure." The form of the letter **ע**, occurring twice, is also very noticeable. It has none of the forms found in Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic, or Mesopotamian inscriptions, but it is distinctly square. The only other example known to me is on the seal published in CIS II, 90, a seal of unknown origin, combining Assyrian and Egyptian motives, and dated by the editors in the 7th or 6th century B. C.

On the ground of the facts here presented, each item of the evidence confirming the rest, it seems to me that we are fully justified in pronouncing this seal Ammonite, and in identifying this Amminadab with the king named in the annals of the Assyrian king Ašurbanipal.

2. Scaraboid seal of bluish chalcedony, belonging to the collection of Yale University. Purchased by Professor A. T. Clay from a dealer, who could give no information as to the place where it was found. Hebrew inscription in two lines separated by an ornamental device. **לְנָתְנִיהוּבֵן בָּזִי** " (Seal) of Nathaniah ben Büzi." The characters are graceful in form and finely executed. At the end of the first line there is a small floral ornament, and the whole field is enclosed by a double line. The name Büzi occurs in the Old Testament, as the name of the father of the prophet Ezekiel (1:3). The characters are Palestinian, and the date probably the seventh century.

3. A conoidal seal of chalcedony, belonging to Mr. Edward T. Newell, President of the American Numismatic Society. Provenience unknown. Cast made from a wax impression. The inscribed face (the base of the conoid) is octagonal in shape, and the two halves of the inscription are separated by an ornamental device enclosed by two parallel lines. The inscription: **לְחֹנָן בֶּן יָאָזָנָה** " (Seal) of Ḥōnān, son of Ya'azanya." The characters are all distinctly cut, and their forms resemble those found in Aramaic inscriptions of Mesopotamia. The forms of **ל** and **ב** are also found in numerous inscriptions of Asia Minor belonging to the fifth century B. C. The form and material of the seal would also suggest the Persian period. The names are Hebrew. **חֹנָן** (the reading seems quite certain) can only be an abbreviated name; cf. **כָּוְנִינִיָּהוּ**? The name Ya'azanya

is well known, both from the Old Testament, where the form is יְנִירָה (Yənîrah), and from the Egyptian papyri (ed. Sayee and Cowley), where the form ينيره (Inîrah), once abbreviated to ينر (Inr), occurs frequently. The facsimile is one and one-half times the size of the original.

4. A scaraboid seal, also belonging to Mr. Newell, and, like the other, purchased by him from a dealer. Cast made from a wax impression. Inscribed with a single name, between double lines. Winged figures, in Persian style, above and below. לסתְרָה, "(Seal) of Sithra." Compare the name סתרָה, Ex. 6: 22, and also the noun סתרָה, "protection." In the lexicon of Gesenius-Buhl the name Satturu (*Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* 9, 69) is also compared. This seal also would seem to belong to the Persian period, and is probably Mesopotamian and Hebrew.

5. Clark collection. Seal purchased in Jerusalem. Bearded figure in profile, standing before an altar and raising his hands toward a symbol of the deity (a star) before his face. Late Babylonian (Persian) style. Behind the figure the inscription: לאלְרָם, "(Seal) of Elramaz." I was at first inclined to read לאלָרָם (a well known name), and to suppose that the uppermost character was intended for a representation of the crescent moon. This, however, is hardly permissible. The line is perfectly straight, and both its slope and its distance from the מ indicate that it is the last letter of the name. Since the verb רָמַז is so extensively used in Eastern Aramaic (Syriac) for the divine command, or the expression of the divine will (*nutus dei*), the name would be a natural one. Compare Hebrew אַמְרִיחָה and Phoenician בָּעָלָמָנָלָא. Our seal is Aramaic, perhaps of the sixth century. This form of the letter מ is frequently found in Mesopotamia thus early.

I have not been able to find that this seal has already been published, though impressions and photographs of it have been familiar to me for ten years or more.

6. Clark collection. Seal said to have been found in the Philistine country (perhaps at Gaza?). Figure of a winged genius bearing in one arm a horned animal (gazelle?) for sacrifice, and holding pendent in the other hand a three-branched flower. In front, a single palm branch. Behind and below, the single letter מ. The device is Assyrian in every detail; compare especially the illustration in Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria*, fig. 29, facing p. 108, from a relief of the time of Ašurbanipal. The letter מ reminds us of the coins of Gaza, though this seal certainly belongs to the Assyrian period, and is thus many centuries older than any of these coins.

7. Clark collection. A Lydian seal (perhaps from Sardis?). I have two rather poor impressions, neither of which covers the whole. A horned bovine animal (antelope?) nibbles a leafy branch held by its master. Above is a figure like the old Greek letter *koppa*. The letters of the inscription appear to be TETELIIT, or TETELEIT, but the last two or three can be seen only in part in the two impressions. If this -LEIT could be regarded as equivalent to the ending -LID appended to Lydian proper names with the meaning of a genitive or dative termination (Littmann, *Lydian Inscriptions*, 1916), we might have here the name *Terῆs*, known to Greek epigraphy.

8. *The "Barabbas" Seal.* An ellipsoid of red sard, in the Berlin Museum. One side flat, the other convex, the latter inscribed. First published by Horn and Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, 1891, Tafel V, no. 1531; a brief description on p. 18. Republished, with a better drawing, by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris I*, 141 f. I have reproduced his drawing here. See also *Répertoire*, no. 1265.



FIG. 8.

On one side is the name בָּר אַבָּה, 'הוֹרָה, on the other, בָּר אַבָּה; between these names, above, can be seen four letters. Lidzbarski ventures no conjecture as to these. Schroeder, in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 37 (1914), p. 177, would read חָכָם. This would hardly do, however, even if anything resembling ח or כ could be seen in the facsimiles. Clermont-Ganneau, in the *Répertoire*, suggests הָלֵי. This would be a plausible filling of the gap (supposing the inscription to be Hebrew rather than Aramaic), but here again the reading does not seem to be justified by the two drawings before us. The two characters at the right are sufficiently distinct, while the two at the left are very uncertain, as may easily be seen by comparing the two facsimiles. The first letter of the word is certainly ב; the second, with the top bent over and the short base-line, is almost certainly ה; compare the form of this letter in No. 3, above, and especially the table in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum*, among the forms described as Babylonian, of the first few centuries A. D. I would suggest the reading חָנָה, i. e. חָנָן, supposing this Judah to have been the "Overseer" of a synagogue. The title *Hazzān* (Chazan) is very ancient, as is well known; indeed, the word was Babylonian-Assyrian before it was adopted by the Jews. The נ is readily suggested by the facsimile, and in Lidzbarski's drawing of the remaining character two

upright shafts can be seen. The whole inscription would then read: **יהודה חננה בר אבא**, "Judah the Hazzān, son of Abba."

Since several of the most important seals in the Clark collection have not yet been published in facsimile, though their inscriptions have repeatedly been published and discussed, I have thought that it may be useful to show here photographs of casts made from impressions, even though the latter are not as satisfactory as could be wished.

The first (Fig. 9) is the seal of "Elišama<sup>c</sup>, son of the King," first published by Sayce, then by Clermont-Ganneau, afterwards again by Sayce; see the *Répertoire*, no. 1272 (the vol. of the P. E. F. Q. referred to should be the year 1909, not 1902). A short vertical line is used to separate the words of the inscription, a feature quite uncommon in seals. In spite of the arguments of Clermont-Ganneau, *Académie des Inscriptions, Comptes Rendus*, 1892, pp. 277 f.; *Recueil d' Archéologie Orientale*, I, p. 36; I am not persuaded that the Hebrew word **בן** in the phrase **בן המלך** ever has any other than its ordinary signification.

The second seal (Fig. 10) is that of "Demalyāhū, son of Nēriyāhū," published by the same scholars as the preceding. The name is ordinarily read "Remalyāhū," since it is obviously identical with the familiar Biblical name (Remaliah). There can be no question, however, that our seal gives the initial letter as **ת**, not **ר**. Clermont-Ganneau has shown (*Comptes Rendus*, ibid., 279 ff.) that the same reading is found on another, very similar, ancient Hebrew seal in the Berlin Museum. This being the case, we probably should correct the reading in the Old Testament, as Clermont-Ganneau has suggested; since on the one hand, it is not strange that Massoretic text and LXX should agree in a misreading of this nature at a time when **ת** and **ר** were identical in form; while on the other hand, in the Hebrew epigraphy of this early period and style the two letters are not confused.

The third seal (Fig. 11) is that of "Rama," published by Clermont-Ganneau (*loc. cit.*), and by Pileher in the *P. E. F. Quarterly Statement*, 1913, pp. 145 f. The latter gives a facsimile, but one in which the inscription is entirely invisible. The characters are Palestinian, of the best period.

The fourth seal (Fig. 12) is that of "Šebanyāhū (Shebaniah), published by Pilcher (*loc. cit.*), with a faesimile which is not sufficiently distinct. My own photograph, which is one and one-half times the size of the original, is also unsatisfactory, but may serve to supplement the other. The seal is an interesting specimen of old Hebrew art. The palmette is of a type which is very familiar in Phoenician sculpture. I am quite unable to agree with Mr. Pileher in supposing that the Hebrew characters (gracefully drawn and not inartistically distributed) were added later, or that the seal shows Greek influence.

## EPIGRAPHIC GLEANINGS.

BY CHESTER C. MC COWN.

Pacific School of Religion.

A few chance findings in the field of epigraphy, which were copied during the season of 1920-21, are here presented. One can not be certain that an inscription, which he has found lying exposed to view, may not have been published already from a better copy. However, the first three below can hardly have appeared in any publication accessible to the majority of scholars, though the first two have been included in the *Recueil publié par la Société Hébraïque d' Exploration et d' Archéologie Palestiniennes* (1921), which I have not seen.

### I. *Inscriptions from Sarcophagi found at Tiberias.*

Toward the close of 1920, when digging for material to construct a road from Tiberias to Samakh, Jewish road makers uncovered a necropolis. It lay near the baths, on the side toward the city, and close to the site of the ancient city. Dr. Nahum Slousch, for the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, began excavations on the north side of this spot and soon uncovered what he supposes to be a small synagogue.<sup>1</sup>

Two sarcophagi with inscriptions were uncovered by the road makers. When I was in Tiberias in December, 1920, one, by far the most carefully carved of those then in evidence, was sticking into the bank, about two-thirds of it exposed and projecting out to the eastward, hanging unsupported some two feet above the level of the digging. The inscription and all the *tabula ansata* on which it was incised were in full view. The plate was eleven by twenty-one inches and contained originally four lines. The first had weathered away, but three remained, perfectly clear and excellently carved.

[ΘΗΚΗΜΙΩΡΙΔΑ] [?Θήκη Μιθριδά]τον τον Ἰσιδώρον βουλευτοῦ  
ΤΟΥΤΟΥΙΣΙΔΩ ζήσαντος ἔτη . . .

POYBOYAEYTOY [?Grave of Mithrida]tes son of Isidore, senator,  
ZHΣANTOΣΕΤH.. who lived .. years.

In the first line I thought I could discover the beginning of an *epsilon* or *theta*. As there is not room enough for *ενθάδε κείται* and the name of the deceased,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Slousch has resumed excavations since my last visit, and I have been told that he made further interesting discoveries, but I am without direct information; see also *PEFQS*, 1921, p. 184 f. (Oct.).

the inscription must have begun with  $\theta\eta\kappa\eta$  or  $\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ . Various names might be suggested. Six or seven letters are required.

I had hoped to make a photograph of the sarcophagus, but on my first visit it was too dark and cloudy. The next day I had to spend on a trip elsewhere. Meantime it rained, and when I returned the dampness had apparently overweighted the unsupported end, and it had broken off along a crack that had been already visible running through the inscription. When I visited the place again in April, a large portion of the inscription had been broken off and removed.

When, in April (1921), I returned to Tiberias with Dr. Albright, we discovered faint traces of an inscription on a sarcophagus which in December had been partially covered by piled-up stones for the road. It would appear to have belonged to an earlier time than the one just described, for it stood on the bottom level of the diggings. On the same level, almost under the first sarcophagus, were little box graves, made by setting up flat pieces of basalt in rectangular shape. These and sarcophagus number two ran approximately north and south, while number one ran east and west. The inscription had been poorly and irregularly carved in the first place and was badly weathered. Dr. Albright and I together made out a copy with much difficulty.

ΒΑΙΣΑΡΗΘΗΣ	Ba(ρ)σαρ(ή)θης.	Σύμ[μ]αχος	Σύμ[μ]αχος
ΣΥΜΑΧΟΣΙ	σας ἔτη με.		
ΣΥΤΟΥΖΗΣ	Barsarethes.	Ισύτεον	Ισύτεον
ΑΣΕΤΗΣΜΕ	Symmachos son of Isytes (or		
	Isytes), who lived forty-five years.		

The first line was above the tablet, on the margin of the sarcophagus. Its third letter was probably P, and we thus get a Semitic name, connected with the root **שְׁרָת** or **שְׁרָא**. Lidzbarski notes a word **שְׁאִירָה**, which he interprets as possibly a Nabataean proper name.<sup>2</sup> In an inscription from Bostra occurs the word **שְׁרִית**, which Halévy<sup>3</sup> thought the name of "une nouvelle déesse nabatéenne," a *πάρεθρος* of Dusares,<sup>4</sup> regarding the word as a nisbe feminine from **שְׁרָא** in **שְׁרָא**. Lidzbarski rejects the suggestion on account of the discrepancy in the composition of the two words.<sup>5</sup> If it could be accepted, the name Barsarethes would be an interesting addition to the evidence for the cult.

It appears that this name was not put on the sarcophagus at the same time as the remainder of the inscription. This is shown by two facts,

<sup>2</sup> *Handbuch der semit. Epigraphie*, I (1898), p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1901, I, p. 341 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ephemeris für semit. Epig.*, I (1902), p. 333.

first, the word is not on the plate, and second, the ductus of the A is different, being **A** in two cases on the plate, and A twice in the name Barsarethes. Whether the names belong to the same man or not, one cannot say.<sup>6</sup>

The name ΙΣΥΤΟΥ is not by any means certain. Perhaps some Semitic scholar can explain it. At the time of reading, the T appeared clear. Otherwise I should be inclined to read 'Ιονλον. ΣΥΜΑΧΟΣ may stand for Εὐμάχος, but I prefer the more common name.<sup>7</sup>

## II. *A Tomb at Marissa—Beit Jibrīn.*

In March Dr. Albright and I visited Beit Jibrīn and spent a day examining the famous painted tombs and other objects of interest in the neighborhood of Tell Sandahannah. We took turns in the rather unpleasant recreation of crawling into the inviting holes in the range of hills which contained the painted tombs. Among several without special interest Dr. Albright in his turn entered one containing kōkīm over which the names of the dead had been placed. We both, therefore, entered and deciphered the writing. I have not been able to discover that the names have been published.

The tomb lay a little to the north of the painted tombs on the same side of the valley. It was rectangular, 10 feet 10 inches wide in front and 11 feet 6 inches at the back, 18 feet 2 inches long on the right and 18 feet 10 inches on the left, with five *kōkīm*, gabled in Marissa fashion, on each side. Four on the left side took up as much space as five on the right. In front of the door, 5 feet 9 inches away, was a roughly hewn pillar with a *Dorie* (?) capital, its bottom split away at the back.

On the left side the names were written over kōkīm two, three, and four somewhat after this fashion:

2 3 4  
ΠΑΝΑΙ ΝΑΟΥΜΑ, ΦΑΔΡΙΣ

On the other side, only one name appeared, ΕΥΝΙΚΗΣ over kōk four.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Albright has transmitted to me a reading of this inscription as published by Dr. Slousch in a Hebrew article in the *Recueil publié par la Société Hébraïque d'Exploration*.

*tion et d'Archéologie Palestiniennes*, which runs as follows: (1) . . TVA . . HL (2) . . TO . ZP C (3) . . A . . IEH. Y. . (The letters and question marks above the line are alternative readings or queries to the characters below.) Evidently the line above the plate was entirely overlooked. I am quite sure that the readings represent no improvement upon those which I have given, although I do not regard mine as final.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Revue Biblique*, 1922, pp. 115-122. This review of Père Vincent has appeared since Dr. McCown's paper was written. Ed.

The incised letters were all most carelessly done, evidently by a non-professional hand. They are really only scratched in the soft yellow limestone with a pointed tool, which slipped more than once and made a longer line than was necessary. They closely resemble inscriptions over kōkīm in the painted tombs.<sup>8</sup>

The first name I take to stand for Παναπόλλων. Stephanus of Byzantium reports Παναπόλλωνες as a designation for "Egyptians."<sup>9</sup> The confusion of ο and ω and the omission of one of two doubled letters are frequent phenomena in inscriptions. It is possible that the final letter was intended for a Ν and that I misread it.

The second name appears to be Ναούμας. This combination of letters seems to be required by the fact that just these letters are incised, while φαδρης, though following without a separating space, is painted in a heavy brown pigment that seemed like plaster.\* Such a name I have not been able to discover elsewhere. Perhaps it stands for Ναούμος, the form which Josephus uses for Nahum.<sup>10</sup> The final letter presents a difficulty, for it exactly resembles a ρ. One is forced to explain it as a square sigma, in the making of which the chisel slipped and lengthened the downward stroke. Unfortunately no square ε, ο or σ is to be found in this tomb. They are to be seen, however, in the painted tombs, where there is the same mixture of forms.<sup>11</sup>

The word φαδρης is even more difficult to account for. Is it a variant of Φατρῆς, found in an Egyptian inscription of the time of Tiberias?<sup>12</sup> May we connect it with such a name as נָהָם, which appears in a Phoenician inscription?<sup>13</sup> I have thought of connecting the last two letters of the previous word with these to make 'Ασφαδρης, seeking to explain the change from scratching to painting by the "artist's" dissatisfaction with his σ. But such a name is equally difficult to authenticate.

The one name on the right side, Εὐνίκης, makes no difficulty. It is to be noticed that in this case the Genitive is used, while apparently the Nominative occurs in all the names on the left side. Both Nominative and Genitive occur in Tomb I.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Peters-Thiersch-Cook, *Painted Tombs at Marissa*, pp. 46, 54.

<sup>9</sup> Sub verbo *'Apraia*.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. W. J. Moulton found such plaster used to hold in place the stones which closed the individual loculi and then to write the inscriptions above, *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1915, pp. 63-70.

<sup>11</sup> *Ant.* IX, 239-242.

<sup>12</sup> Peters-Thiersch-Cook, *Painted Tombs*, pp. 50 and 54, and Plate XIV.

<sup>13</sup> Dittenberger, *Or. Graec. Inscr. Select.*, 660<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, 220<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Peters-Thiersch-Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-46.

III. *Inscriptions from Kades.*

At Kades near Lake Hüleh, usually called Kedesh Naphtali, Dr. Albright and I together deciphered two inscriptions. It is strange if both are not already known, but I can discover them in none of the literature now at my disposal.

One lay in the compound of the police station, having been built into a seat against the outer wall. We read it as follows:

//////ΓΜΕΘΕ ..... ΓΜΕΘΕ ἡ ἀπὸ (Τ)ονρ[ρ]ανιον συγένεα  
 ΙΑΙΟ.ΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΥΣ ..... ἐποίησε (διὰ) ἐπιμελητῶν 'Αννίου .....  
 ΥΝΤΕΝΙΑΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΜ Δάμα(ν)τος εὐχήν.  
 Α ΕΗΙΜΕΔΗΤΩΝΑΝ ..... The family of Turranus made  
 ΝΙΟΥΝΑΙΔΑΙ?ΜΑΕ (this) as a vow through the commissioners Annius  
 .ΜΣΕΟΟΔΑΜΑΤΟΣ (son of .....and..... son of) Damas.  
 EYXHN

The letters were regular and beautifully shaped. Apparently *εὐχήν* at the bottom and the word ending *γηθε* at the top had been centered, and on the small, almost square stone we have all of the inscription except a few letters of the first line, a part of the first letter of the second line, and one at the beginning of the sixth. Unfortunately, weathering had made several quite indistinct, and in the names at the end I was unable to reach a satisfactory result.

I am surprised at being able to find nothing to explain the first line, for the letters deciphered seemed to be beyond doubt. As the *Γ* stands in about the middle of the inscription, four, or possibly five letters should precede it. Nothing suitable to complete the line has occurred to me, and if it is an aerostic, I cannot discover the formula back of it. One would expect a Dative or possibly a Vocative of the name of the deity invoked.

The name Turranus occurs several times in the *Prosopographia imp. rom.* A[Tu]rranus [Juk]undus was to be found in Crete.<sup>15</sup> A Turranus was prefect of Egypt under Augustus<sup>16</sup> and Turranus Priseus was prefect in the army of Cestius during his unfortunate expedition against Jerusalem and was one of the officers bribed by Florus to compass its failure. If he was the Priseus who fell during the disastrous retreat, he richly deserved his fate.<sup>17</sup> One wonders whether it could have been his family which set up a votive tablet in Kades, possibly in the temple of which the façade is still standing.

The use of *συγένεα* with *ἀπό* is to me unknown, but it seems to be the only

<sup>15</sup> CIG 2582b add.

<sup>16</sup> CIG 4923.

<sup>17</sup> Josephus, BJ II, 531, 544.

way to construe the words. If I have taken it rightly, it offers another example of the growing use of prepositions in the Koinē. Of the H preceding *ἀπό* there remains one vertical stroke, and of the T in Turranius the bottom only.

Between *ἐποίησε* and *ἐπιμελητῶν* there is more space than is necessary for *διά*, and I did not originally read the traces so, but there was a hole in what I took to be M, and ΔI may well have stood there. The use of *ἐπιμελητής* for the members of a commission, or committee, is shown by an inscription set up by the city of "Laodicea by the Sea" in the Olympieion at Athens in honor of Hadrian,<sup>18</sup> where we have *διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ πρεσβυτῶν* followed by a list of names in the Genitive. In three inscriptions at Jerash *διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν* occurs with names following it just as here.<sup>20</sup>

The district captain of gendarmes, who happened to be spending a few days in Kades, showed us all hospitality. Under the incitement of the French interest in archaeology, manifested in the appointment of district inspectors of antiquities, he had been making a survey of the objects of archaeological interest in the neighborhood and spent an afternoon leading us to all the ancient monuments and tombs he had been able to discover.

In the morning, as we were leaving, he told us he had just been informed of an inscription in a house in the village. We had been anxious to make an early start but took time to attempt to decipher a grave-stone built into the door jamb of a hut in the northwestern part of the village. The result was as follows:

ETOΥΣ

'Ετος γρατ' (μ)ηνὸς ΙΙ(α) νήμου γκ'. 'Ενθάδ[ε]

\ΓΡΩΤΩΗΝΟΣ

κεῖται 'Ατ(ελ)λ(α)ος (Εν)κλ(έους) . . . . .

\*ΠΗΝΗΜΟΥ

In the year 393, on the 23rd of the month

\ΓΚΕΝΩΑΛ

Panemos. Here lies Atellaios son of Eukles

KEITAIAT

(?) . . . .<sup>19</sup>

Α.ΔΕΟΣΕΙΣ

ΚΛΗΘΑΙΟΣΙΝ

. . . ΔΕΑΘΙΑ

OYΣ

<sup>18</sup> Dittenberger, *Or. Graec. Inscr. Select.*, 693.

<sup>20</sup> See *Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-vereins*, 1901, pp. 49-82, Nos. 11, 57, and 58.

<sup>19</sup> Do the last three lines contain the familiar formula, *θάρσι, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος?* If so, the name Eukles, at best a wild guess, disappears. Or should one read 'Ατελλαιος *ἐπικληθείς* . . . .?

When reading the stone, I took the ♀ to be a *s*, but that is naturally impossible, for Γ seems to be the proper reading of the preceding character. The oblique line before each of the two numerals puzzled me, but I believe them to be marks of punctuation.<sup>21</sup> There appeared to be a small character before the II in line 3, but it was probably a blemish in the stone. Between lines 5 and 6 were drawn lines as if to mark the end of the inscription. While below there was no apparent change in the ductus of the letters, the remainder of the reading is quite uncertain, and the name Εἰκλέους, which I have suggested, agrees only partly with the traces we made out. This inscription did not compare favorably with the previous one in the finish and regularity of the letters.

The date 393 seems reasonably certain, but by what era is it reckoned? If that of the Seleucids, we are brought to 82 A. D., if that of Antioch, to 344 A. D. So far as the evidence goes, either is possible. Not far away, in the Decapolis, the Pompeian era was much in use.<sup>22</sup> If we reckon by it, the date is about 330. The votive inscription above should come from about that time, or somewhat earlier, if the temple is to be dated in the second century.<sup>23</sup> Probably 82 A. D. is too early.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, pp. 583 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Lucas, *Mittheil. u. Nachrichten des deutschen Pal.-vereins*, 1901, p. 50; following a suggestion of Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa, I, 649, he reckons from 63 B. C., but many cities had eras of their own dating from about this time.

<sup>23</sup> Kohl and Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen Galiläas*, p. 158, date it in the later Antonine times from the style of its ornamentation.

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The round forms of epsilon and sigma and the form of omega opening upward, such as are common in first and second century inscriptions, occurred in all the inscriptions here recorded.

## A LATIN INSCRIPTION IN THE LEBANON.

BY JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

The University of Pennsylvania.

A short distance to the north of 'Abeih, in the Lebanon, where I spent the summer of 1914, before going to the American School in Jerusalem, lies the hamlet of 'Ain Ksûr, on the postroad to 'Aleh and Beirut. At this point there is a group of stone sarcophagi, one of several such groups which have been described by Robinson in his *Later Biblical Researches*, pp. 18 ff, and which he visited on an excursion he made from Beirut down the coast to Halde, the ancient Heldua, then inland via 'Aramûn to 'Ain Ksûr and 'Abeih. I was desirous of following his footsteps in the reverse direction, and so, on June 16, I walked to 'Ain Ksûr with my guide and examined the tombs there. Thence we proceeded down the path towards 'Aramûn, and came upon another group of tombs, also noticed by Robinson. We were fortunate to meet there the proprietor of the holding, a Druse sheikh, Nasîb Yûsuf Halêwy, a citizen of the neighboring village of Fşâkîn, who was very hospitable to me as an American. The traditional name of the spot is el-Medwâra, but I was told subsequently that it was also called el-Jalil, a Hebrew word, as my guide correctly remarked. Both words mean the same thing, "circle."<sup>1</sup> The tombs here were six in number, with their covers lying upon them or nearby.

We went south along the ridges toward the dry stream bed. Close to this was an ancient olivepress, about three feet high, and not far away two other presses, now sunk into the ground. There were, indeed, abundant remains attesting an ancient civilization where now only poor vineyards or thin fields of grain are to be seen. At a later visit I found that the sheikh, in digging for water, had come upon and uncovered an ancient cistern, nearly six feet in diameter and cleared out to a depth of about three feet. From the olivepress I have mentioned the sheikh guided me to a *ketibe*, an inscription which he knew of and which was not far distant. To locate this find more exactly for the future visitor, I may add that it lies face upward 29 paces two points to W of N from the press.

I paid several visits to this inscribed stone, on one occasion being accompanied by Prof. Kemper Fullerton and Prof. Harvey Porter of the

<sup>1</sup> I may note that my guide told me that the word *jall* is used locally for "terrace," probably as something circular. This definition may explain the Biblical place-name Gallim, which would then mean "terraces," rather than the ill-omened "ruins," of the lexicons.

Beirut University, whose witness and help I was glad to have. In the distress occasioned by the outbreak of the War I was not able to get a proper impression of the stone, and obtained only a very poor photograph, a copy of which accompanies this paper. The inscription has five lines, lying foursquare in the midst of the stone. The letters are rough and not

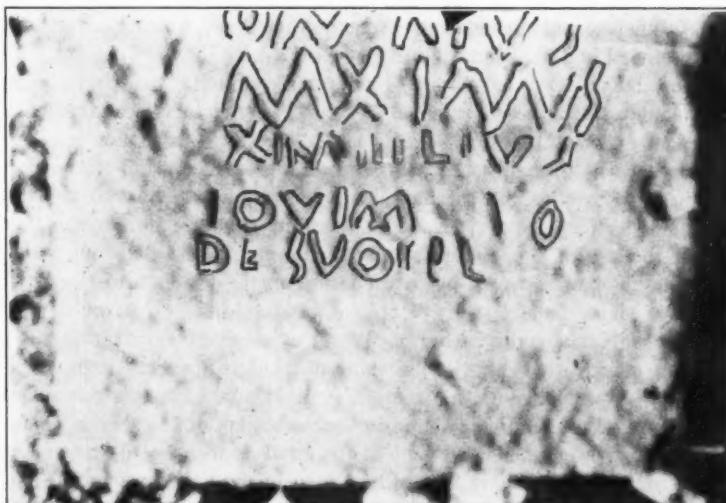


FIG. 1. A Latin inscription near 'Abeih in the Lebanon.

well aligned at the sides. The characters in the first two lines are about twice the size of those in the remaining lines. The M's in the second line are ligated with the following letters. The space covered by the inscription is 14 by 18 inches. The inscription reads:

OMRIUS  
MAXIMUS  
—IRAI FILIUS  
IOVI MO—(—) A  
DE SUO FECIT

I cannot divine what the epithet after IOVI is, nor could my colleagues help me. I have simply put down the characters as they appeared to me, not so much to the eye as to the touch of my fingers. One thing is certain:

the missing word is not some term we should expect, e. g. MAXIMO or MONTIS.

It is a rude inscription, but pregnant with interest. The donor's name is to be identified with the Hebrew royal name Omri, which itself is of Arabic origin, to be connected with 'Omar. We may suppose the man was a representative of the great Arabic or Ituraean invasion which was pouring into this land long before Islam.<sup>2</sup> The failure of the first letter of the father's name unfortunately makes that word unintelligible. The god is the head of the Roman pantheon, with a now illegible epithet. The expression DE SUO is common, to be compared with the Greek  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\nu$  θείων, and now the Jewish Aramaic  $\mathfrak{m} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{h}$ , found in one of the mosaic inscriptions at 'Ain Dûk.<sup>3</sup>

The donor was probably the possessor of the fair mansion whose ruins strew the land around, and perhaps his body was laid to rest in the large tomb farther along the terrace. For the first time we obtain the name of one of the landed proprietors who built the many tombs scattered along the slopes of Lebanon. (An inscription, now in the Museum of the Beirut University, comes from the grave of a Roman soldier.) Not only would the passage of this rude barbarian into the stage of civilization be an interesting story; that he also became so far Latinized as to make his donation to Jupiter throws an interesting light upon Rome's domination of the culture of the region. A coin in the possession of the sheikh, coming from one of these tombs, and which appeared to belong to the coinage of Constantine or one of his sons, might help to date the inscription as of the fourth century. At all events, this inscription throws light upon the problem of those groups of stone sarcophagi which cover the slopes of Lebanon, and which puzzled Robinson and Renan as to the mysterious peoples which reared them. They are survivals of the old Phoenician art, but in historical origin are mute symbols of the Pax Romana which once made this land to blossom as the rose.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, i, Exurus i; Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, pp. 10ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Vincent, *Rev. bibl.*, 1921, pp. 581ff.

## THE SCORED PEBBLES OF SIDON.

BY CHARLES C. TORREY.

Yale University.

South of the city of Sidon, in the region of the great Phoenician burying grounds, there have been found from time to time numerous small, flat stones which have aroused the interest of archaeologists. They are beach-pebbles of a fine-grained and rather hard limestone, roughly elliptical or nearly circular in shape, with an average diameter of about two inches, and approximately half an inch in thickness. These pebbles are scored on both sides with shallow grooves in straight lines in every variety of number and arrangement, no two patterns being just alike. The natives, who collect the pebbles and offer them for sale, generally believe them to be inscribed, and regard them as talismans; the name by which they are usually called, *ru'ūs mutawālia*, giving them a purely fanciful connection with certain customs of the Shi'ite sect of the Metāwileh.

As far as I am aware, only one archaeologist of note has published an opinion in regard to these objects. Macridy Bey, of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, in his report of excavations entitled *Le Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon* (Paris, 1904), devoted an appendix, pp. 52 f., to this subject. His conclusions, briefly stated, are the following. The stones are normally found in the débris at the mouths of tombs in the ancient necropolis. In all probability, they were used by the Phoenician workmen to sharpen the tools with which they cut these tombs in the rock; hence the grooves, worn by the points of these implements. I reproduce here Macridy's half-tone illustration, made from photographs (somewhat reduced in size) showing the two faces of four of the pebbles. His words are these: "Des ouvriers très expérimentés me dirent que la présence de ces galets dans un champ dénote le voisinage d'un caveau, ce que j'ai moi-même constaté avec la différence que les caveaux étaient tous ouverts. Au cours de mes fouilles dans la nécropole sidonienne, j'ai recueilli plusieurs de ces galets, mais toujours dans les débris qui comblaient un puits phénicien ou bouchaient l'entrée d'un caveau romain. Cette particularité me porte à croire que ces galets ne sont que des pierres à aiguiser servant à affiler les pointes ou n'importe quel instrument tranchant dont se servait l'ouvrier attaquant le rocher. La surface du caillou n'offrant plus une place pour le frottement de l'outil, il était rejeté avec les débris de pierre qui servirent, plus tard, à la fermeture du puits et où il est retrouvé encore aujourd'hui."

The hypothesis here presented is attractive at first sight, but hardly provides a satisfying explanation of all the peculiar features of these small objects. Why the small and remarkably uniform size of the stones? The supposed workman would have found a diameter of three inches better adapted to his purpose than one of two, or of one and three-quarters.

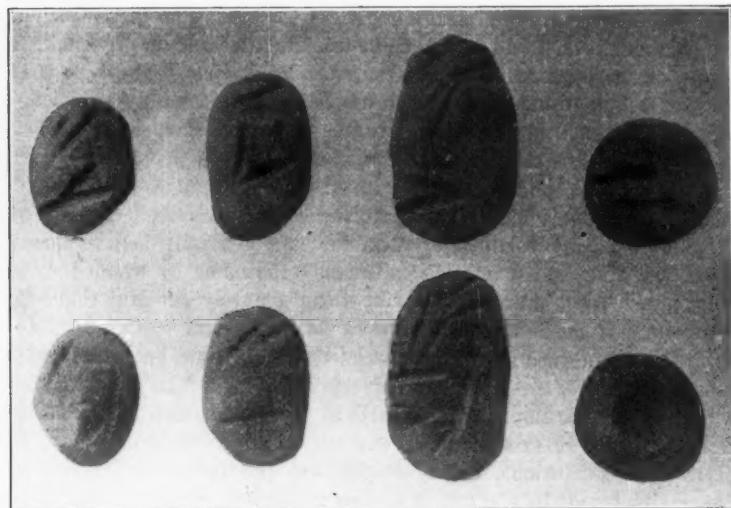


Fig. 1. Two faces of Four Pebbles after Macridy Bey.

Why the care taken to have them always flat on both sides, of approximately the same shape, and of a uniform thickness? It is noticeable, too, that many of the grooves are cut near the circumference, rather than in the center, even when the center offers a smooth and unused surface.

I first became acquainted with these pebbles in the fall of 1900, when Mr. William K. Eddy and Dr. George A. Ford, of the American Presbyterian Mission in Sidon, showed me numerous specimens which they had collected. I was at once struck by two features which appeared to me to be common to all these specimens, and those which I have since seen have only confirmed the observation. First, the grooves were scored with a wheel; and second, *the marks on the one face of any pebble form a pattern which is more or less distinctly reproduced on the other face.* This latter fact seemed to me so remarkable that I photographed fourteen of the pebbles of Mr. Eddy's collection which showed this feature most clearly,

Professor Jewett, who was with me at the time, making the negatives with his camera. Both negatives, unfortunately, were lost in the subsequent journeying. A sun-proof had been made from one of them, however, and it happened that I had preserved it; from this the accompanying illustration is made.



Fig. 2. Fourteen Pebbles of Mr. William K. Eddy's Collection.

In order to give a general idea of what the other photograph would have shown, I subjoin a drawing intended to picture the reverse side of these same pebbles. Since the drawing is purely fanciful, it can have no value beyond that of representing my own imperfect recollection of the nature and extent of the correspondence. I can add with assurance, however, that in no one of these fourteen examples could there be any doubt that the scheme of scoring on the one side was intended to be the counterpart of that on the other side.

This rule of the approximate correspondence, in arrangement, of the grooves on the two faces of each of these stones holds good in the case of every specimen which I have myself seen. It is plainly exemplified in all but one of those which are shown in Maeridy's illustration (above, Fig. 1), though in the reproduction of the photographs some of the grooves are almost invisible. The small circular stone at the right appears to be

an exception. Perhaps if it could be examined, the exception would be found apparent rather than real; or it may be that such a pebble had a special part to play (see below). I think that it is also possible to see in these photographs the regular curve of the typical incision, showing that the grooves were cut with a wheel.

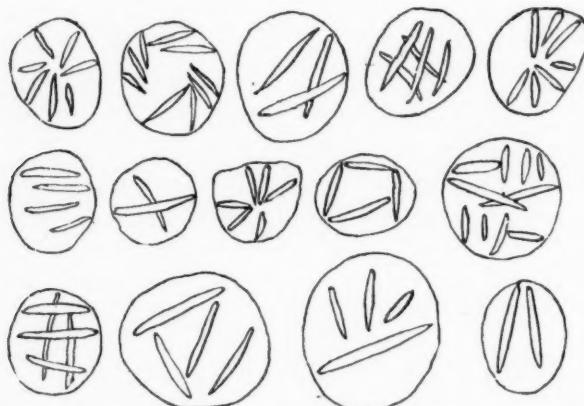


Fig. 3. Sketch from memory of Reverse Side of Pebbles shown in Fig. 2.

These facts seem to make it plain that the manner of scoring these pebbles was not accidental, but deliberate; and that its purpose was to make each one of them easily recognizable. The most natural conclusion is, that the pebbles were used in playing some sort of game, in which they were thrown or tossed in such a manner that they might fall with either side up. Even if the pattern on the one side is reproduced somewhat carelessly and inexactly, the resemblance, added to the shape of the stone, would be sufficient for identification, even at some distance. As to the precise nature of this game, I can offer no conjecture. There is no modern game played in that country, so far as I am aware, that could throw light upon the question. Possibly someone who is more familiar than I with such matters can give the needed information.

The specimens found by Maeridy himself were picked up at the mouth of tombs in the old necropolis. Many others, however, have been found at a long distance from any tomb. Mr. Eddy, who told me of the popular belief regarding these objects, showed me a level, open field south of Sidon,

between the city and the necropolis and somewhat nearer the latter, which he declared to be the chief source of those scored pebbles of whose provenience he had exact knowledge. He had found them there himself, and said that it would not be difficult to find others. In this field there was no trace of any tomb, nor did it seem likely, from the nature of the



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

ground, that it had formed a part of the ancient necropolis. I seem to remember that Mr. Eddy spoke of having personal knowledge that some of the pebbles had been found in the débris of tombs, but my recollection as to that is indistinct.

I have in my possession one specimen only; I cannot remember now whether I picked it up myself in the fields about Sidon or received it from someone else. It is defective, a piece having been broken off, but it presents some interesting features. The main pattern consists of two broad and deep grooves crossed at one end by a shallower groove (on one of the two faces this transverse groove was broken off with the missing piece, in all probability, since the place to look for it would have been just there).

At the circumference, at the ends of two axes at right angles to each other passing through the center, the stone has been cut away symmetrically, leaving four elliptical facets of equal size, on any one of which the stone stands upright and securely if on a smooth surface. On the one side of the stone, just below one of the facets and on a line which if produced would pass through the end of the facet, is a small and sharply cut groove, which is filled with red paint in the same manner in which the incised characters of Phoenician and other ancient inscriptions are often filled. *On the other side of the stone, in the position exactly corresponding, there is a similar groove likewise filled with red paint.* The paint appears nowhere else on this specimen nor on any other which I have seen. Obviously, this correspondence in marking is not accidental. Of course the possibility suggests itself, that this specimen had a special part to play in the supposed game; that the four carefully cut facets on its circumference were not merely ornamental; that one of the properties of the game may have been a smooth board or a slab of stone; but such conjectures are worthless in the absence of further information. The manner of using the red paint, however, seems to me to confirm the opinion already generally held, that the scored pebbles date from the Phoenician period rather than from any later time.

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After the manuscript of the foregoing had been submitted to the editor, President Moulton, I was informed by him that he had in his possession four of the scored pebbles from Sidon. He very kindly offered to have them photographed, and to put the photographs at my disposal for further illustration of this article. I gladly availed myself of the offer, and append the illustrations herewith; the one showing the obverse, and the other the reverse, of the four pebbles. They will be found to confirm the conclusions already reached.

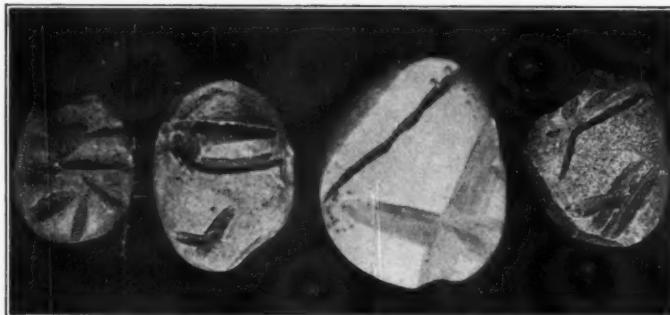


Fig. 6. Obverse of Four Pebbles from Collection of President Moulton.

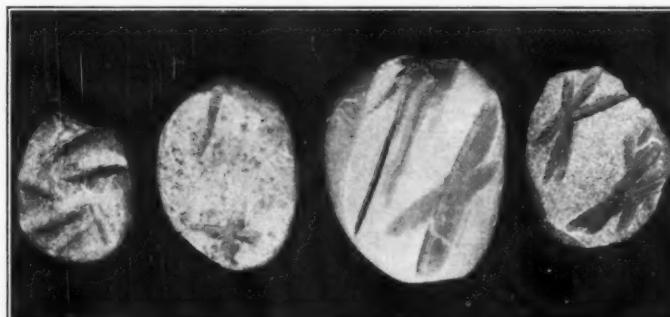


Fig. 7. Reverse of Four Pebbles from Collection of President Moulton.

## A CATACOMB CHURCH ON THE HILL OF EVIL COUNSEL.

BY JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

The University of Pennsylvania.

On December 7, 1914, Prof. Kemper Fullerton and I visited the Greek convent Deir 'Abū Tōr on the summit of the Hill of Evil Counsel (Jebel 'Abū Tōr), to the south of the Valley of Hinnom. Our eicerone was the learned and agreeable Timotheos Themelis, librarian of the Greek Patriarchate. On this ground, one of the most commanding spots about Jerusalem, the Greeks were laying out new monastic buildings. It is a locality hallowed by the memory of Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem 633-634, who had distinguished himself before his episcopate by his zeal for the Church and its sanctuaries in the troublous times of the Persian invasion, 614. A large mound of débris is witness to the structure reared by him on this spot; its portal is still visible and broken pillars lie around. The new convent is to perpetuate the pious bishop's name.

The object of our visit was a catacomb church which had been discovered in the preceeding year and of which up to the present writing, 1922, no description has been published in an aecount accessible to me. One passes through a large vaulted chamber, used as a chapel, at the side of the hill-top, and, descending by some rough, rock-hewn steps, enters into a low passage running to the south. This is cut through the rock. After three paces we turned to the right and found ourselves in another passage well arched above with white stone. It seems once to have led farther west, but suddenly stops, blocked with débris. At this point there is a masonry passage, at right angles to the first, running to the south, and five paces brought us into the lost underground chapel.

This is a vaulted chamber, 16 ft. in length, 7 ft. 6 in. in width, 9 ft. 3 in. in height. The wall of the south side is the natural rock, which about four and a half feet above the floor is cut outwards so as to form the spring of the arched roof. On that side the architect could make use of the natural rock of the hill. But the ground slopes rapidly away, and the north side of the chapel is a well constructed wall of white stone, cut square, based upon the natural rock, which at some points shows above the floor. There is an arch-spring corresponding to that on the opposite side. This spring projects about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. from the wall at its start, and this feature has evidently been imitated on the other side in the rock cutting, indicating an artistic nicey on the part of the architect. The arched roof consists of large rubble, mostly plastered over. There are traces of plaster on the



FIG. 1. Subterranean Chapel on the Hill of Evil Counsel, Jerusalem.

rock wall. The inside of the roof appears to be about three feet below the surface of the soil.

At the west end is an arched doorway, with steps hewn in the rock, ascending toward the surface. Much of this opening is blocked by débris, the top of the hole being now covered by metal sheeting. An exterior arch of large dimensions indicates a former portal. Toward the eastern end of the peak of the roof a square hole of masonry once let in air and a little light.

At the eastern end, exactly orientated, is the sanctuary. This is represented by a low rise in the floor, the width of the chamber and a little over 4 ft. in depth. At the right hand has been left a large block of the natural stone, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. square and 2 ft. high, evidently the *throne*. In the east end an altar has been constructed by cutting a spheroidal apse in the rock, below the roof, 4 ft. wide, 2 ft. deep, 3 ft. 9 in. high. To the left of this is a similar apsidal cutting, 1 ft. 4 in. wide by 2 ft. high. This was evidently the table for the Holy Gifts, the *Prothesis*. Also on the north side, to the west of the *Prothesis*, a large open closet had been executed, 3 ft. deep by 1 ft. 4 in. wide,—doubtless the Treasury for the holy vessels. Above the arch of the altar apse are cut the lines of a linear cross with T-shaped ends. Thus we have here, partly cut in the living rock, the furnishings of a complete chapel. The accompanying photograph shows most of the details of the east end.

To what age and circumstances is this catacomb church to be assigned? As one mark of dating, Father Timotheos pointed out that the *Prothesis* is not known in the Greek churches before the seventh century. And, indeed, the careful construction and the elaborate ecclesiology of the building do not indicate a primitive date. It is by no means as primitive as the subterranean chapel in the convent of Mount Zion, where old cisterns have been adapted to sacred purposes. If it is to be regarded as a subterranean refuge for the rites of the Church, the chapel may be ascribed to the troublous days of Modestus, and the tortuous passage on the south side be understood as a means of flight. But I am inclined to think that it was simply a semi-subterranean oratory for the religious or for hermits, while it may have served a particular use for the faithful in the days of persecution.

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